



C RAJAGOPALACHARI



SPEECHES
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C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
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SWEARING-IN CEREMONY.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Swearing-in Ceremony on June 21, 1948, at Government House, New Delhi —

I am very grateful to you all for your participation at this ceremony. Your presence has lifted the occasion from the place of a mere ceremony to that of human fellowship and co-operation.

Speaking objectively, the occasion is undoubtedly historic, for this is the first time that one who belongs to the soil has, in accordance with the wishes of the Prime Minister of India and his Cabinet, been entrusted with the honour and the duties of the Head of the State in India. I owe a debt of gratitude, which I cannot hope to repay, for the signal honour implied in this my installation. I hope I shall act, on every occasion and in every matter, in a manner worthy of the trust reposed in me. The work of my predecessor during his memorable term of office was a marvellous instance of detachment, devotion and energy on the part of one who, though not belonging to India, worked as one belonging to her and did his work in the spirit that is laid down in our scriptures with regard to the task that falls to any one. I come after him but I hope I will be judged by standards suitable to one who is inexperienced either in arms or in diplomacy, unlike my predecessor.

Our problems have multiplied beyond all expectation and are such as may perturb even the most adventurous spirits among us. The only remaining interest in life which moves my colleagues who are entrusted with the charge of the affairs of India is the happiness of our people and the good name of our country. This is the passion that binds them together. They have experience and nobility of character. May God enable them to achieve the purpose so dear to their hearts. I shall be proud to render them all such assistance as I can in this position.

India is unchangeably committed to the policy of making everyone within her borders find pride and joy in citizenship irrespective of caste, creed or race. No one will suffer any disability by reason of the community to which he or she belongs.

The days of dynastic rule or domination through force are gone in India. No territorial or racial or religious

community can hope to thrive or maintain its happiness through force without the willing and full co-operation of other people and the utmost intercommunication. It is therefore necessary that all communal and territorial isolationism should be abandoned and the best talents in every community should seek to serve the whole State. Communities should spread themselves out rather than build walls round themselves.

Whatever be the technical phraseology which public law may use to describe it, what disturbs the peace of India now is internecine discord pure and simple and it is utter folly. Our economy has not yet had time to separate into two parts corresponding to the political division to which we have agreed. It is very doubtful if it ever can be so split. We are far too interdependent and whatever we might do, there will yet be vital links that can never be severed. It is folly to quarrel and make into a scene of strife and misery what has been shaped by the pressure of age-long forces into a field of beauty and joy. Let us pray for wisdom and let us do what will make good thoughts grow and save them from being swamped by folly and evil which wait to tempt man.

I have received blessings and good wishes from great and good men in all parts of the world. May these help me to steer clear of error and enable me to be of some service to our people in the great office conferred on me.

NEW DELHI MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

His Excellency the Governor-General received an address of welcome from the New Delhi Municipal Committee on June 25, 1948 and in reply said :—

SIR ARTHUR DEAN AND FRIENDS,—

It is very kind of you to come and say words of welcome to me. I thank you very much indeed, and more than your welcome I thank you for your good wishes, of which I stand very much in need. You have certainly maintained a very high standard of sanitation and services in regard to public amenities. You started as an expert body and have worked for over 32 years now. Let me congratulate you on the task that you have well performed. This is a Central Government enclave, and naturally more emphasis is laid on the efficient performance of expert and public health services than on the development of democratic representation.

This is natural, and marks the difference between a government enclave of this kind and ordinary municipal corporations. I hope that high standards will be maintained in services, whatever may happen to the development of the Corporation itself.

The New Delhi Municipal Committee is sharing the natural history of all metropolitan centres. The old capitals too, I dare say, began as New Delhi began, with beauty, art and plan, and upheavals and catastrophes and difficulties that occurred from time to time brought large influxes of people under the direct protection of the Central Government and in pell-mell fashion. The problems became intricate, houses grew without order, streets formed themselves by accident so to say, and we find old beautiful well-planned capitals becoming more or less like the Old Delhi that we see now. Five hundred years hence, probably New Delhi may become a replica of Old Delhi. Already as you have pointed out, this has begun. Houses have been built which do not come up to your standard of artistic beauty. Let us hope that we shall, through conscious and deliberate effort, prevent deterioration in standards in spite of the pressure that is bound to be brought on all capital cities, pressure of population, trade and commerce. You have done very well. You have maintained standards in spite of many difficulties, and I congratulate you. I hope I shall be of some service to you in helping you in tiding over your problems.

Thank you once again for your good wishes. Whatever the constitution of the Committee might be as time advances, the efficiency of municipal services rendered is the essential thing and I hope you will set an example to the rest of India in this respect. Thank you very much for what you have said.

OLD DELHI MUNICIPALITY.

His Excellency the Governor-General received an address of welcome from the Old Delhi Municipality on July 11, 1948 and replying in Hindustani, His Excellency said :—

I thank you for your address of welcome. What you have said about the affairs of your Municipality will, I have no doubt, receive the careful attention of the Government. I thank you for what you have said about me.

I have been the recipient of good wishes and the beneficiary of devout prayers of numerous good men and women throughout the country. I stand very much in need of this and I am deeply grateful for it.

We are facing very tough problems, some of which had never before been faced by any Government in the world and have, therefore, to be solved by us without the help of a tried precedent. But it is impossible for us to find persons more worthy of confidence than the tried leaders who have been bearing the burden. God has helped us so far to stand the great trials to which we had been subjected.

We have been strengthened in our fibre by reason of these trials, for this is the law of all misfortunes. We are thankful to God for it and we hope to overcome all difficulties and justify our independence by loyal adherence to the principle of progress and the cause of peace in the world.

Gandhiji has left us. But let us remember what he taught, the thing for which he gave up his life. Let us live as brothers although we worship God in different ways following the custom of those that brought us up. It is more important to live like brothers and to help one another than even to beautify our historic city of which we are justly proud. Beauty without love is like a poisonous flower, beautiful to look at, but dangerous to life.

I do not find pleasure in holding the office I hold or in holding any other office at present, but as my colleagues unanimously wanted me to join them now in this capacity, I have agreed. I hope your good wishes and the good wishes of others will enable me to be of some use to the nation.

The ambition to serve the country and to take a spectacular part in improving the lot of the people is natural and worthy. The progress of a free people requires this and it should be encouraged. But during the present troubled times, unity is more important than even emulation in noble purposes. I would, therefore, appeal to all to call a truce to all individual and competitive ambition, however noble, and to canalise talent in one stream until we have achieved our immediate objects.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Third Anniversary Celebrations of the foundation of the Employment Service in India at Gurdwara Road, New Delhi, on August 9, 1948 :—

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am very grateful for all the sweet things you have said about me. You consider that my coming here is a concession or boon conferred upon you. It is I who should thank

you for having done all this, and I rejoice at the good work that has been done by loyal servants of the State. The service rendered by this Department, there is no doubt, is of immense importance. The normal life of the people was disturbed by the war and by the partition of our country. During the war, many had to go and fight as soldiers or help soldiers in various ways. When they return, they have to be placed back in civil life in order that they may carry on after the interruption to their normal life and do not feel that they have been let down by the State.

Similarly, the disturbance dislocated the lives of many people after the partition. They have a right not to be let down and to ask the State to do all in its power to rehabilitate them. What honest men and women desire is opportunity for honest work and to earn their own living. It requires therefore no deep thought or analysis to see that the work this Department is doing is a natural and important part of the work that any government has to do under abnormal conditions.

Government therefore must give you and your colleagues their very sincere thanks for the remarkably good and presentable amount of work that has been achieved. You, Sir, as Minister, are entitled specially to receive thanks from me. We must find it rather embarrassing to compliment one another, but at the same time I must fulfil a duty as head of the State and on behalf of the whole of the people of this land tender their thanks and gratitude to you on this occasion.

This is the third anniversary of this Department. These three years being infant years were years of anxiety. The Department has come through it all right and you have shown in the charts hung up in the neighbouring room and literature that these three years have been very active years. You have done not only normal work, but have shown great enthusiasm and strenuous industry. Otherwise you could not have grown to the size that you have now grown to.

I would ask people interested in this work to study carefully and sympathetically the charts hung in the other room. It is only if one looks at anything with sympathy and examines it with attention that he can at all understand it. If you examine the figures in the charts in the right way, all of you will see that in the midst of the enormous amount of anxiety and disturbance we have passed through, the Department has done a great deal of work. These inadequate words of mine, I hope, will succeed in putting yet greater enthusiasm in your workers.

The habit of continual opposition to established government tends to persist somewhat. Even now many thoughtless people are inclined to look upon all those who are employed in the administrative services as, if not enemies, parasites who live on the work of other people. They think they are in charge of the kitchen and therefore eat more than they serve to other people. This is altogether a superficial and wrong view of things. The man who organises productive work and productive service is also a man who works. The man who plans, organizes or who supervises the distribution of work is also a worker. Those who have changed their government into a completely socialist government have no difficulty in understanding this point. But we still have some difficulty in appreciating that the man who sits on a chair in front of a table is a worker at all.

All of us are workers. I claim that even I am a fairly industrious and hard worker. To sit still requires a great deal of energy, let me tell you, and a great deal of painful exertion. I can claim to be exerting a great deal in not doing anything, and if I can be called a worker, you can understand how hard Ministers must be working who have to see that nothing goes wrong and who have to take on themselves the blame when anything does go wrong. It is not the men who do the wrong thing who should be allowed to be blamed. It is the Ministers who have to take all the blame. If the Employment Exchange curve goes down, it is the Minister that takes the blame. He will have to go and set the curve right. I plead that people should be more considerate to those on whom the responsibility of the State has been placed in this transitional stage, when everybody has a desire to be idle and blame others and everybody expects every other man to do his own work. This is a transitional stage when people are bound to be judged very badly all round, but still it is a time when the greatest amount of patience is necessary.

No one is entitled to lose his temper, and I hope that the Labour Minister, whose temper is tried first of all by the labourers, secondly, no less by the industrialists, thirdly, no less again by those who watch things from their drawing rooms and their own places in life, will be patient. At the same time I want him to be firm. If in this transitional and critical stage of our national life, we are not firm, we are bound to break and fail. I plead therefore for reasoned patience. I congratulate the Department and everyone concerned and not the least the chart-maker. I want him to be honest and not pull the chart slant-wise and make it tell

a comfortable tale when it really warns us. Make it true and let it speak the truth.

AT THE JAMA MASJID GROUNDS.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech in Hindustani at an informal gathering of communities at Jama Masjid Grounds on August 14, 1948 :—

Anger and retaliation cannot give us happiness. The history of the past twelve months is a record of attempts to achieve happiness through anger and retaliation. If happiness could be achieved by retaliation, today the people of Pakistan and India must both be very happy. But we are not happy. We know how far away we are from happiness. This should teach us a lesson.

Anger and retaliation are the Devil's weapons to keep evil going in this world. Through them the Devil is counter-acting the teachings and defeating the purpose of the prophets and the saints.

We should forget what has happened and pray to God that from now on we may live like human beings and brothers to one another. You should look upon every woman as a mother or sister and every child as your own child. By hating one another we cannot achieve satisfaction or happiness in our lives. It is only when we begin to help one another that we shall achieve true happiness.

If something wicked takes place somewhere, treat it like plague or cholera, and think of the means to isolate yourself from the infection.

For governmental purposes, our country has been divided into two; but in trade and economic affairs there is no conflict between Pakistan and India. We should help each other and advance trade and commerce in both States. If we help one another we shall both rise in the world and attain great prestige and influence.

INDEPENDENCE DAY EVE.

Broadcasting to the nation on August 14, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

JAI HIND!

I have the privilege tonight of speaking to you, Dear Brothers and Sisters, all over India who are listening to me.

Tomorrow—or rather at midnight today—we begin the second year of free India. Great have been our troubles after the undertaking of Independence. Insane riots and barbarities and movements of masses of panic-stricken people leaving their homes and their belongings threatened to put an end to all order and rule. Problems arising out of the partition and problems created by the sudden break of the nexus that bound the Indian States with the Central authority to whom everywhere the people turned for maintenance of social order and rule, taxed and confounded the ability of the best of our statesmen.

It is easy to be wise after the event and to say that we should have anticipated and prepared for the misfortunes and complications that followed and overwhelmed our people. But men of affairs throughout the world have not blamed us either for not having anticipated them or for the way in which our Government faced them. They have complimented us on the way we handled the situation. They have paid these compliments not to flatter. They are men who have seen trouble in other parts of the world and have the experience to appreciate and to judge fairly.

We have largely restored order to replace the chaos produced by the doctrine of lapse of paramountcy. Brave women workers have achieved the restoration to their homes of more than ten thousand women, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, who had been victims of the riots. We have staved off famine and we have kept industry going in spite of recurring conflicts between labour and management.

But it is no good indulging in self-pity or self-praise. We have to overcome the impediments that still stand in the way of a better life for our people. We have to work for a higher standard of civic sense and a higher standard of production. Character must be improved all-round and fruitful work should increase. The only way for progress is to make conditions which would help these two things, more honesty all-round and more work everywhere.

The greatest of our misfortunes was the passing away of Gandhiji. Those who killed him have done the greatest injury to our country, exceeding what any other enemies of the State have done. He was snatched away from us when he was most wanted.

But it was God's will that some men should be so thoughtless as that, and inflict this grievous injury on our people. It is through severe trials that a nation's fibre is strengthened. We have now to work and build without Gandhiji. Do we fulfil our purpose by carving statues,

painting pictures, printing his effigy on stamps and notes, putting wreaths on the spot where he was killed or where he was cremated? We do all this, and it may be proper we do all this. But we should do more if our worship is not to be an empty form. Empty worship is dangerous if it makes us feel we have done all that is due.

We should, as far as in our power lies, do what Gandhiji earnestly trusted we could do. When any doubt or difficulty arises, private individuals and officials of all grades as well as governments should ask themselves the question, what would Gandhiji have advised if he had been alive and if we had gone to him for advice? It is not difficult for us to guess in every case the course he would have advised. Let us follow that line honestly and prayerfully, and God will help us.

I would ask citizens constantly to ask themselves. Have we given sufficient positive help to our national government? If the answer is doubtful, we should hasten to make up the deficiency. Let us think constructively. The old habit of opposition and intolerance of authority that was natural when we lived under foreign rule has no place now. Let us give out of love that respect to the authority and prestige of our own government which the old government was able to extort through force and fear.

We have to work hard, everyone in his job. Every weaver, every peasant, every trader must make up his mind to do his best, each in his own sphere, avoiding deceit, avoiding idleness. Public affairs are only the sum-total of private lives. The motherland wants the maximum output of work and mutual trust and honesty.

May God help us and the time come soon when we shall all have realised the vanity of hatred—indeed there is nothing more than vanity in hatred—and the vanity of jealousy and the waste in dishonesty. Soon, let us hope we shall all be at work strenuously co-operating for the whole of India. By India I mean both parts of India. There is no conflicting economic interest between the two parts of India, but on the contrary every need for co-operation in order to supplement one another. We shall see this easily when our temporary passions have cooled down.

We are free and that does not mean just release from bondage. It means we have become, all of us, citizens of the potential world-state. Let us shape our conduct to be worthy of that new status. India has a mission. Our place in Asia, our long and intimate connection with the civilization and culture of the West and last but not least our noble

inheritance, our own ancient civilization, these put on us, now that we are free, the duty of playing an effective part in the progress of the world. May God bless us in this, for the whole world is HIS. BANDE MATARAM.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT MYSORE.

In reply to the Civic Address presented at Mysore on August 19, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR HIGHNESS, PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL,—

Even though I know a little Kannada, I find myself quite frightened out of my little knowledge of it by the sentiments and words with which you have overwhelmed me. Since yesterday I have been thinking of what I should say to you. I have come to the conclusion that words cannot satisfy what I wish to say and, therefore, it is better that I leave unsaid most of the things I should have liked to say. But I must find some words to express my gratitude.

All this pomp and ceremony now paid to me are homage paid to previous history, not to me. I know that the hearts of young and old in this country, here as elsewhere, find exhilaration in the thought that one of themselves should be the recipient of honours hitherto paid, uniformly and in full measure, to people from other countries. This gives you pleasure. Let me tell you, it gives me pleasure also in a very objective way which may easily be misunderstood as vanity on my part! But behind all this pomp and all this hospitality which His Highness and you have all conspired to shower on me, without the least reduction in measure from what it had been hitherto to successive Viceroys and Governors-General, I see something which, I am sure, was not there in the old days—affection.

I have, to some extent, been myself responsible for your feeling that I am one of your own. I came here from a neighbouring district when I was young and received my education under the care of your Maharaja and Government. I owe my body to my family but I owe, what is more precious, my mind, to the education that I received here. If I have served the country and if I have deserved all the kind things that you have said in Samskrit and Kannada in such beautiful language, it is due entirely to the education

I received in your State. I belong to a village only less than five miles from your border. It was merely an accident that my village was torn off from this State some time before I was born. I belong to the same plateau on which you live and have grown. I am, therefore, one of you and can understand your particular exhilaration at my attaining to a position which Clive, Wellesley, Dalhousie and others occupied. It is wonderful and remarkable how what was once regretted now becomes a cause for increased joy.

We have to deserve this good fortune. The country is free and your own State has now acquired democratic government for itself. I thank the Municipal Commissioners for all the kind words they have showered upon me. It is not for me to say anything about your municipal affairs. The beauty of this city is a great example and inspiration to towns and cities all over India. I may say without hesitation, not as an old citizen of Mysore State but as Governor-General and an objective judge, that Mysore is really the most beautiful city in India. I have been feeling it all the time since I came here. In fact, I did not get good sleep last night because I was feeling I had just come back from a visit to Fairyland!

The State has now been handed over to a democratic machinery. Successive and able administrators under His Highness' predecessors have built this province to an enviable degree of progress and glory. A new government has taken over responsibility. If I were they, I should not sleep happily. My colleagues in the national agitation and struggle must feel a very heavy responsibility. It is not easy to maintain a State and keep up the level which it has reached through the talent, industry, devotion and patriotism of previous administrators.

You will have to work hard, my dear friends, if you desire that people should not regret the change. It is not enough to be patriotic in the old sense. It is necessary to be patriotic in a new sense. We have to plan anxiously; we have to be straightforward in the execution of our promises and plans. We have to think hard.

Democracy has come when life, individual and national, has become harder than ever before. In one way it may not be very fair to compare the achievements of the older administrators with the work of the new democratic government. People are inclined to think now only about achievements and not difficulties. Yet democracy would be untrue to itself if it did not exert special anxiety to meet the numerous difficulties that face us in the present day and

produce results over which people might say: "Well, democracy is not bad after all!" Successive talented administrators were in charge of the affairs of this State to the good luck of the people of the State. They had all the facilities. They had untrammelled power to do what they wished. Now, there are difficulties created by democracy itself. Nothing can be done which does not satisfy the majority and a larger amount of criticism is brought to bear than ever before. In spite of it, I am sure the patriotism of the people and the patriotism of the workers and the new administrators will all combine to save us from any disappointment.

Patriotism must now be newly defined and understood. In the olden days, it was just struggle and agitation. But now it is as hard as building a new house. It requires all the patience of a brick-layer and something more. It requires all the skill of a good engineer and something more. We have, therefore, to work hard. It was easy to take over power from His Highness, but it is difficult to realise the duties and fulfil them.

His Highness has been taking me round. I was overwhelmed by his kindness and courtesy. All the time, I was thinking whether the hereditary tradition was not, after all, superior to any amount of training. His Highness is young and I am old. All the time I took the high privilege of feeling that I was father and he the son. It gave me continual joy to be sitting by him as a father by his son when he took me over to Brindavan and back. May the Lord of Brindavan protect him and protect you!

MYSORE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

Addressing the Mysore Women's Association at Jaganmohan Palace on August 19, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

SISTERS,—

It gives me great delight to be among you and to see you adorn this ancient hall. You make it look more beautiful. The address said that Mahatmaji is dead but lives in me and the Prime Minister. I wish to correct that statement. He lives not through me or the Prime Minister but in you all. If a pinch of salt is put in water, the whole water becomes saltish. Mahatmaji is the salt and you are the water. If you are determined to be good girls and good

mothers and to bring up good children, Mahatmaji, the salt, will be in you all.

Let us not be afraid of death. Mahatmaji has become the salt and we carry the salt with us. Only we should be honest. We must love one another. If we are true to his teachings, Mahatmaji cannot die. He lives in our behaviour. If we are false to his teachings, we will be the murderers, not the man who put a bullet into him.

I hope all the girls in Mysore will remember this and try to walk in the path of Mahatmaji. Do not think of me as Governor-General. You should look upon me as a teacher for whom you should care. If what I have said has impressed itself upon you, my visit as Governor-General to Mysore will have been useful. When next time I come, I must be able to feel that Mahatmaji's salt has not been thrown away but is in the water-pot.

I thank you very much for the welcome you have given me. I shall never forget this meeting. All of you must support your Maharaja and your government. It is only then that they will be able to serve you and the country.

AT THE MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE.

Addressing the students of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, on August 19, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, MY YOUNG FRIENDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It is not a mere conventional phrase when I say that it gives me very great pleasure to be among you. It is long since I was last in this place. I am glad to say that Mysore has remained and continues to be as beautiful as it ever was. A very large number of places throughout India have grown less beautiful than they had been before; but Mysore City continues to be the most beautiful city in India and, more than that, to be as beautiful as before. I wonder if the democratic government that is now responsible will succeed in keeping Mysore as beautiful. There is no doubt that those who were responsible for Mysore in former days did their work patriotically and zealously. Those who will be hereafter responsible will be torn between a number of conflicting forces and it is possible they may fall below the standard of expertness which their less

troubled predecessors could reach. It is very difficult for a man to please people and also do his work. In the old days good men were content to do their work, not minding whether men were pleased with it or not. Now our eyes have to turn both forward and backward.

Have you ever noticed, young friends, how bullocks yoked to carts behave? They keep their eyes back on the driver who has the whip or the stick in his hand; and they keep their eyes on the road also. The eyes of the bullock do Ashtavadhanam. The bullock watches the slightest movement of the driver's stick, at the same time watching for any trouble on the road and going forward. Now our future democratic governments will have to emulate the vigilance and the Ashtavadhanam of these bullocks, the drivers being the newspapers and public opinion, who have got sharp goads in their hands. If the Ministers keep attending only to the driver and his tricks, they will miss their feet on the road. We, two-legged animals, can manage to go straight. The bullocks have four legs and have to keep all four legs going in unison and in perfect co-operation with one another—rather a difficult task. Try to walk on all fours, you will see how uneven your gait becomes.

Now a Cabinet consisting of many Ministers, which is like an animal with many legs, is rather a difficult thing to manage. Do not envy the lot of Ministers. Do not think their task is easy and that they have got a prize. They are just bullocks tied to the cart with a driver behind, goad and whip in hand. Newspapers are busy and sharptongued and the Ministers have the road marked by Mahatmaji and other leaders to stick to. They have to make progress and to achieve something in the way of more happiness for the people. I do not think, after this description of mine, you will envy the Ministers. Pray all night and all day that you may not become Ministers and that you may remain free-lance journalists if you can. Then you can write anything you like. Ministers are generally very unhappy people. But you can make them happy by co-operating with them. Young students, you have to bear the burden in the coming years. We have lighted the torch and handed it over. You have to carry the torch.

Now tell me if you will go on strike now and then or whether you will continue without break, preparing to be good citizens of the land. Will you take over the question of whether a teacher is to be transferred, dismissed or promoted, and go on a small hunger-strike, which I know you will not maintain for more than three or four

days? You will want somebody or other to send you a telegram: "For God's sake give up your hunger-strike", and then you will stop it. I have come here to tell you that I thoroughly disapprove of all hunger-strikes. I do not want students to go on any form of strike. The responsibility of managing is on the Government, on the Department concerned, and on the Professors and Principals. The business of students is to train themselves to become citizens without break and without interruption. Whether the methods followed are wrong, you cannot judge. Whether the professors are not competent, you cannot judge. The sin is on their heads if they go wrong, but your duty is to go on with your preparation without break. Freedom having come, democracy having come, hereafter the only problem is to become good citizens.

You cannot become good citizens if, during your youth, you begin to think of other people's problems. The citizen in a good State always thinks of his own duties and not of the errors other people commit. Mysore has become part of the Indian Union. Do not imagine that thereby the responsibility of the people of Mysore is diminished. It has increased. You have to look after Mysore as well as the rest of India. Patriotism is a mere word unless you realise the full meaning of it. Patriotism hereafter consists in work—honest, co-ordinated work. It does not consist in shouting or singing songs. To realise patriotism, you have His Highness the Maharaja as a symbol. You cannot realise God if you reject the idol which you have always associated with God. The Maharaja symbolizes all the duties which citizens should remember and fulfil towards the State as a whole. The more complex the State becomes, the more necessary it is to have a symbol of that kind.

Democracy all the world over has set up various symbols. Look at me now. Why am I Governor-General? Constructive patriotism in Free India requires a symbol as Head of the State. You must look upon that symbol, whether it is made of brass, wood, clay or human flesh, with awe, devotion and love. I have claimed this incidentally for me. But my main purpose today was to claim it on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja. I want the students of the Maharaja's College to look upon their college as their mother and to look upon the Maharaja as their father. Let me tell you that if you look to your symbol properly, and genuinely, everything will turn out right. You cannot be loyal to His Highness the

Maharaja and commit any offence, secret or public. Loyalty to His Highness, like loyalty to His Majesty the King as far as British citizens go, will protect the citizen in all his duties and in all his efforts on the road of patriotism. He is the symbol of patriotism in Mysore, and freedom having come, our loyalty has to be all the greater. Otherwise freedom will go to pieces; it will dwindle and deteriorate into intrigue if you do not keep your devotion to His Highness at high level.

India is free. Somebody has to be Governor-General. There is nothing very great in somebody becoming Governor-General. I being the first Indian to occupy the place, you feel somewhat like a crowd that watches the mango trick performed by a juggler. From out of free India, an Indian has come out as Governor-General and you are all exhilarated. I am exhilarated by the feeling that I am able to command so much affection from all of you. Your affection to me is simply a symbol of the complex thing called patriotism. I want all of you students to remember your duties towards the State. But do not pull a long face over it. Do not get melancholy. The task is easy because it is natural. You are the children of the land and the duties are natural duties and you are bound to perform them if you are straight. There is no difficulty about it. Try to cultivate an outlook of joy towards everything. Do not try to recapitulate in your drama or play or song all the troubles through which we have gone. We cannot live on old tragedy hereafter. We have to live on the prospect of joy and happiness. As an old man, I bless you all. Do not try to be wicked whatever the provocation may be. Thank you very much

KENGERI GURUKULA ASHRAM.

Addressing the members of the Kengeri Gurukula Ashram on August 19, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said.—

FRIENDS,—

I am extremely glad to be present here at this village gathering. I am glad that I have been able to visit this place which I had visited twelve years ago with considerable interest. Many people have died in the interval. Among the many, one whom we love greatly also died recently. He died leaving you and me as orphans. He died when he wished very much to live. He died leaving hope and faith behind in the mind of the nation. One of his

hopes was that institutions like this would continue to work and uplift people. But if we do the opposite of what he wanted us to do then we shall have joined in killing him.

The man who killed him separated his soul from his body; but if we are untrue to his teachings, we shall have killed his soul itself. There are many people among us who think they are cleverer and wiser than Gandhiji. We think that he was foolish in trusting people and that we are wise if we distrust people. We think he extended love and affection to people without discrimination and that we are wiser than he was. Just as we love a child, thinking that we are cleverer than the child, we love Gandhiji thinking that we are cleverer than he. We think we are cleverer; only he was a good man! Now, I have come to tell you solemnly that Gandhiji in his doctrine was cleverer than all of us. I may tell you that the great clever man who was Governor-General of India before me, the great Prime Minister who is now in charge of India's affairs and whom you all admire and love, and myself, all three of us hereby certify, if I may use the word, that Gandhiji was wiser than all of us.

I tell you that in the present context in our country, in the troubles that we have to face, the advice that Gandhiji gave is the most statesmanlike advice which politicians should follow. Do not, therefore, worship Gandhiji as you worship an idol. Worship him as much as you can but I want you also to know that he was the best statesman among us all. Our politics should be handled according to his desire. He wanted that Hindus and Muslims should love one another, partition or no partition. To think that because there has been a partition the doctrine of love has been suspended is wrong.

Gandhiji wanted that all men should work hard. This institution is intended to carry out that doctrine. I am very glad that you have all come here and thereby shown to me that you take interest in this institution. I do not believe that you have all come here to see my face. That you have gathered here, I take it, is evidence of some interest that you take in this institution.

You know that India is free and we manage our affairs now. We can appoint two Governors-General or five instead of one if we like. We can do what we like with our country. So, one of you has been made Governor-General. A Governor-General is appointed in order that everybody might look upon him as the Head of the State. When you build a temple you can arrange for the music,

for the drums, for the *prasadams* and for all the ceremonies; but you must erect an idol to make the temple complete. A temple requires an idol; a State requires a Head. In some States they appoint a head with much power. In America they appoint a head who has the largest powers in the world. But he is freely attacked and is criticised in newspapers. In England, the Head of the State has no powers and nobody attacks him. The Governor-General of India is like the King of England. I have no powers. All the powers that I exercise are exercised strictly on the advice of Ministers. But I am looked upon with respect all the same.

You must look upon His Highness the Maharaja in the same manner. Your devotion to the Maharaja of Mysore is the concrete form in which your patriotism is to be expressed. Although Mysore has become part of the Union of India and has become a constitutionally governed State, His Highness must be respected by you as before. It is that devotion that will act as a guardian angel for your constitution and for your happiness. If you do not show that devotion, you will be like a village without a temple. I want you to have devotion to His Highness because that will make the Government stable, strong and useful.

I am very glad I came to Mysore and saw that the people of Mysore were as good as they were some years ago when I last saw them. I would urge you not to tell lies. Do not deceive one another. Do not be fond of money, for that will lead you to dangers. Be active and industrious and keep doing something, producing something all the time. Take it from me that the occupation of the Governor-General will be fully performed if I go about just telling people to be honest and to work hard. I do not want any other power except that I should be able to induce people to be honest and to work hard. My best wishes to the little boys here. I am sure whatever we do with them, whether we teach them or do not teach them, God will take care of them. We may change our systems of education from day to day or year to year; but Nature will take care of her children. Nature is much stronger than all our inventions about methods. I have seen cruel teachers and very kind teachers but the children somehow or other have not been spoilt by either.

Do not be anxious. Do not think too much about Hyderabad. The Government of India will take care of Hyderabad and you need not worry. Do not look suspiciously on every alternate man who is a stranger among you

and imagine that he has come from Hyderabad! There are many who think that so many spies have gone out of Hyderabad. If this is true, there must be nobody remaining in Hyderabad! As Governor-General of India let me tell you: "Do not be afraid about Hyderabad and do not think about Hyderabad. Think only about Mysore and look after Mysore."

You have now a Government in Mysore over which His Highness the Maharaja presides and which is run by Ministers who have suffered and who have stood staunchly by and fought for democracy. You have entrusted them with that charge. You can trust them. If you want to change governments every Saturday, Mysore will be unhappy. If you bind a book using gum and paper, you should not open it before it dries; otherwise it will go to pieces. You must give time for everything to settle down. In the same manner, the new government will have to be given time to consolidate so long as you trust them. Do not try to experiment with a plant by pulling it up to see if the root has grown properly!

ADDRESS BY BANGALORE MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

Replying to the Civic Address presented by the Bangalore Municipal Corporation, Civil Area, on August 20, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am very grateful to you for all the trouble that you have taken. Although I knew your affection for me I hardly realised that you would be so exhilarated as you have been and have been wondering what the cause is. Once the country is free and is asked to manage its own affairs there is nothing very remarkable in one of its own citizens being appointed to one of the many offices that have to be filled. But habit is so strong that we still live in wonderment at the incidents of freedom. If, for instance, a boy marries a girl, everybody tells him that he is married. But it is only when the wife begins to cook for him and he finds for the first time somebody helping him in his daily life that he feels exhilarated. He did not realise the full meaning of marriage, when the music sounded and the *mantrams* were uttered. He begins to see it only when somebody begins to slave for him in the house and he finds that life is divided between him and his partner.

For a long time now we have been talking of freedom. But we seem to be surprised when one of us is appointed Governor-General. Who else can be appointed? When the girl was sitting next to the young man during the marriage ceremony, bedecked in all manner of ways so that her face could not be seen, he did not realise what a wife meant. But when the girl comes plainly and sits in the kitchen, then he understands. Later, when troubles start he understands a little more!

Friends, I am not telling you all this to amuse you. You must realise the meaning of freedom. First of all, only some of us will be appointed to honoured posts which previously were much envied. All cannot be appointed either Governor-General or Governor. All cannot be appointed Chief Minister; only some can be appointed Ministers and so on. The meaning of freedom is that one of our own men, who before was a very ordinary man, is made Governor-General. This realisation was a bit delayed in our country on account of Lord Mountbatten continuing for sometime. That act of his in agreeing to remain for a few months confused our people's understanding a bit. They did not realise that one of themselves will have to be suffered in the post very soon. Similarly, when one of us or a few of us are appointed Chief Minister and Ministers, it first produces a great deal of exhilaration. All the dear friends and relations of these Ministers feel excited about it. They feel that they have themselves been appointed to these posts. They feel like walking into the room where he sleeps or like watching him through keyholes. They see that after all he is a very ordinary man like themselves. He has been appointed to a big post and yet he continues to be the same as before. All this fills them with wonder. This is the great merit of freedom. We very ordinary people with all our defects and our well-known peculiarities, have been set on places which formerly had not been reached by our people.

When you open a dictionary, you do not see the meaning of the word that you read. Take the word "affection", for instance. Two or three alternative meanings are given in the dictionary. But none of them is very clear to your mind until you marry a girl and see what affection is. Then you see that affection is not merely spelt with so many letters, but is something very nice indeed. Similarly, freedom had no meaning for us until one of us is appointed to this post, some one else to another post and friends and relations say "Oh! yes, this is a free State indeed!"

Friends, trouble begins after some time as I have told you just now. Then you begin to see that everybody cannot be appointed. Why is he Governor-General and not I, why is he Minister and not I? In what way is he better than I? These are things that start the pathological aspect of freedom, if I may say so. Freedom carries with it not only joy but the duty of bearing the troublesome and annoying features of it. Although everybody is free, some only can exercise authority and others have to submit to it. When they saw this beautiful pandal decorated, everybody was glad. Some were allowed to go near and some were kept a little behind, some were kept altogether outside. Then they began to feel the annoying aspect of this decoration. Everybody cannot enjoy it. Some have to wait, some have to wait till another election. Some will have to wait till a great mistake has been committed and everybody gets disgusted. Then they get a vested interest in mistakes and hold on to them and speak about them.

But our old culture remains. We shout "Republic", "Socialism" and all that. Yet we follow the very old established practice of the old days when a feudal King was in authority and men welcomed him with music, flattery and dance. We do the same thing now. How much time, for instance, was taken in reading, again reading and reciting all the poems which had no application to me? We were simply living in the old days and proving to one another that we continue to remain as good as our forefathers, although we have adopted new ways and new manners and new constitutions. We must understand and live in the present times. It is very good to hearten people like me who have a tendency to grow sad over many things that have happened. But we must realise what we have to do now.

As if to enforce this duty of realising the realities properly, Mahatmaji died. As if to make us see at once what we might have failed to see for a good long time, he passed to the other world, leaving us to think out things for ourselves. So far as he was able, he tried hard to make people see that there was no difference between religion and daily life, that there was no use in religion if you keep it in *purdah* and not draw upon it in your daily life. He also tried to show that moral precepts had intrinsic connection with politics and daily life, business, trade and commercial operations. He tried hard to make people see that fear of God, love of God, truthfulness and all the facets of religion had a relevant connection with daily affairs, even in business and statecraft.

If we forget this, we shall have lost all the advantages of a great man having lived among us in recent times. It is only very rarely that men of that type are born and we in our generation had that great advantage of having him live amongst us and not only teach us, but, so to say, suffuse the atmosphere. If, as soon as his body is burnt, we do the opposite of what he asked us to do, surely God was foolish in having given him to us. Let us deserve the master under whose guidance we have been acting all these years. Let us not distrust one another. Let us not think of one another as enemies. There is nothing like enmity. There is no enmity in fact nor is it necessary to have it in life. Misunderstanding is all that we have. What is the great good in freedom if we do not do something to remove distrust and misunderstanding in the world and to further the progress of the world?

Our freedom is no doubt a charter of independence but it is also a warrant of duty. We must see that our ancient culture is potent enough to make us happy in the new context. Different races, religions, languages can live together on the sacred soil of Bharat Mata. If we prove that, we shall have added to the stock of experience and knowledge in the world and its progress. Hitherto men had to isolate themselves in order to have free governments. In our country we can show that different religions, creeds and races can live together and form one nation. That is the great chance we have.

Friends, I shall not detain you longer. Whenever I have a chance I want to tell people what I feel so that I may be of some use. I propose to be really a Governor-General by telling you what I feel about things and make people see what I say, if possible. Unless we work together and forget the doctrine of hatred and retaliation, our freedom will be of no use to us. You may imagine that our charter is firm on its legs and cannot be shaken by anybody. But unless we pull together, India cannot be strong and unless India is morally strong, it will have no place in the world.

This used to be called the Civil and Military Station once. There is now no distinction between Bangalore City and Bangalore Civil and Military Station. I want the new Government of Mysore to show that they can handle a complex inheritance like this with affection, consideration and care. Do not lose anything that other people have given us. Am I now to take the Evidence Act and tear it to pieces because it was made by Sir James

Fitz-Stephen, an Englishman? Am I to tear up the Indian Penal Code and let thieves and criminals go about, because the man who made that Code was Macaulay, an Englishman? Unquestionably, God willed it so. All that has been done here has been done by God. Let us have consideration for everything and make the best use of it. Do not think that advantage is derived by vandalism or intolerance. You must show that the new Government of Mysore can look after an old city like Bangalore and equally well the mixed culture, population and institutions in this part of Bangalore. You must show your enlightenment and capacity by handling everything delicately and with affection. Have respect for the other man's feelings and then automatically your conduct will adjust itself to the new surroundings. Have consideration for everybody. I am a fanatical prohibitionist. But I do not say that because a fellow is given to drinking alcohol I do not care for him. You should care for him more because you have produced a state of unpleasantness for him. Similarly in the new set-up you have to deal with everybody with great care, delicacy and patriotism. The secret of statesmanship is what Mahatmaji would have told you, genuine affection for the other man. Keep your affection intact and the battle is won. Everything else will look after itself.

ADDRESS BY BANGALORE CITY MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

Replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the Bangalore Municipal Council at the Glass House, Lal-Bagh, on August 20, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It is a symptom of our freedom that everybody wants to be free and it becomes difficult to maintain order. It pains me to see beautiful flower-pots being broken. In the old days lakhs and lakhs of people used to congregate for festivities and there was no incident whatsoever. Our country is large, our population is large, our aspirations are large, but our restraint is yet not large enough.

I am very grateful to all the friends who have organised this beautiful welcome. It is possible to arrange

a welcome for Swaraj, but when a small man like me undertakes to receive all that welcome, I prove unequal to the task. The burden of welcome that we all wish to give to Bharat Mata as a whole, I am trying to bear on my single body. How can I represent the whole of Bharat Mata? I stand here and you all try to see me. It is difficult to see me across all the pillars and the corners of this hall. Why do you want to look at me? Look at Bharat Mata, who is behind you and by your side.

For a long time we failed to see Bharat Mata though she was standing all around us. Gandhiji taught us how to see Bharat Mata, but he has gone away a little too prematurely, before we took the lesson fully. To see Bharat Mata, we must be industrious in our habits, and wise in our activities. If you go to a temple, you will only see stone and not God, if your character is not good. In order that your eyes may see God, your character must be upright. Bharat Mata is not different from God. If we want to see Bharat Mata really, we will have to be upright in our conduct and good in our minds.

We have won freedom all right, but we have not yet learnt how to remain free. It seemed easy to be loyal to British authority but it seems difficult to be loyal to the authority of our own democracy. We have to study hard in order to pay the same respect to the authority and prestige of democracy as we used to pay to a single foreign authority. But I am hopeful, because I see that you treat me with more affection than you ever treated any foreign Governor-General. I had thought that being an Indian, being one of you, having all the defects which you know I have, you would not treat me with the same respect as you showed the Marquesses and Earls who filled this office before me. I am glad not because I am tickled by your flattery but because it gives me hope that you will show the same respect to those whom democracy places in authority.

An ordinary merchant who is doing some small retail trade today may be made President of the Indian Union tomorrow. The moment he is in office, you must look upon him as the President of the State and not remember his old occupation. The clay, the earth upon which you are walking, can be made into Sri Ganesh and people fall prostrate before it. After the worship is over, they throw the clay into the water. We make Ministers. You must respect them

as you respected the great officers who preceded the Ministers. The Ministers are Sri Ganesh. If we do not worship Ganesh, our State will crumble to pieces. May Ganesh give us the wisdom to learn how to obey, maintain order and support democracy.

May every institution in India, including the Bangalore Municipality, become better, richer and more glorious in free India than it was ever before. Everyone who is doing any creative work must feel that he is creating something for the sake of Free India now. If you go with some money to the booking office and offer money and want a ticket, the booking clerk must feel "I am now serving Free India and I must attend to this man promptly and quickly". If you buy a ticket and get into the train, you are getting into Free India's train and you ought not to occupy more space than you are entitled to. If you make any spot of Free India dirty, it is Free India that you make dirty. If you spit on the road, you are spitting on Free India. Free India has allotted space where you can spit, and you must not use other places for the purpose. Am I going to see in the latter part of my life that Municipalities in Free India are better administered than Municipalities in old India? Am I going to have the joy of seeing it? If I see Municipalities brighter than they used to be before, I shall feel that it was right for me to go to prison to make India free. Otherwise, I should feel it was a waste of labour.

There is only one duty before us. Everyone should be more honest than he was before the 15th of August last. If there is not more honesty in Free India than there was before, it is no use having become free. If private lives are not clean, public life cannot be clean. If my prayers are heard, God will make us all happier by making us more honest. I thank the President and the Commissioners of the Municipality for all the labour they have taken to make me feel great and happy. I am specially grateful to the people who have at last quietly sat down to listen to me. When men can be so easily persuaded to behave well, there is hope for India. There is no country which can be governed more easily than India because no force is necessary. You have only to appeal to their tradition and to their culture. All the great old Kings of the past—Janaka and Sri Ram—are still alive and governing our hearts. I am not the Governor-General. Sri Ram is the Governor-General. Treat my office always with respect.

JAYANAGAR EXTENSION.

Replying to the Address of Welcome presented on the occasion of the inauguration of Jayanagar Extension and laying the foundation-stone of the Mysore Riyasat Hindi Prachar Samiti Building at Bangalore on August 20, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

DEWAN SAHIB, CHIEF MINISTER, MR. NARASINGA RAO,
MR. SAMPATGIRI RAO, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

This meeting, this occasion and the purpose for which we have met, all give me very great pleasure. The manner in which we face the work before us will, I hope, be marked by the same earnestness and solemnity which mark the present meeting. We have achieved freedom. The responsibility is very great and varied. The first thing to be done is to keep our feet firm on the ground and not let our feet follow our eyes looking at the skies and the clouds.

Language is a great difficulty. Our country has, in addition to the normal difficulty of all languages, an additional difficulty of too many languages. But all difficulties finally contribute to making our victory more glorious.

I do not believe that you would admire a garden with only one type of flower. We have in India a variety of languages which makes ultimately for beauty provided we know how to be good gardeners. The section gardener who is in charge of one particular type of plant is likely to become a fanatic, but the supervisor should retain a broad outlook. The cow-herd may say only grass is important and trees and flowers may as well be ploughed down for pasture. The goat-herd may like leafy plants instead of grass. The horticulturist may ask for foreign plants. But quite a variety of things are necessary to make the place look beautiful. In India, we have many languages and I hope that all the efforts of Mr. Sampatgiri Rao and my own put together will not diminish. Even though we serve Hindustani with all our hearts we must remember our own mother-tongue also. We must serve Hindustan, but we must not forget our own village. I say this so that Kannada patriots here may understand that I understand their mind also.

At the same time, while we look after the village, we must remember the State as a whole. Otherwise, the village will be carried away by vultures. We should have care and anxiety for our own local language first and foremost. But India as a whole is a very large country and we

have to move from one part to another. We have to understand and work among all kinds of people. Our bullock-carts cannot go to all parts. We must go by train. In the same way, our local language alone will not do. We must have a good command over Hindustani which is the popular all-India language. If the war had gone on a little longer, most of our people would have learnt Hindustani, having served in the army. Go to any film producer and ask him in what language he gets the best return. The cinema man knows that Hindustani is the language of India.

We in the South have one great advantage over the people of the North. In the North they are still quarrelling over the script—Hindi or Urdu. In the South we need have no quarrel. We may write Hindustani in Devanagari or Kannada, if we like. But we should all learn Hindustani. That is the railway train which will take us in the field of language all over India. Compulsion is unpleasant and if anybody does not like Hindustani, let him not learn it. But if you have any interest in your children and are concerned about their future, teach them Hindustani. If you are concerned with quarrels and controversies, don't teach them Hindustani. Patriotism and civic duty may be difficult to imbibe but self-interest is easy to understand.

In India we want not only railway trains but also aeroplanes. To give an *inapt* figure of speech, take it from me that English is the air-line all over India. To go on the ground in the lower levels all over the country, you must know Hindustani. If you want an immediate and speedy means of communication over higher levels all over India, do not neglect English. If you want to be isolated in your own village, you need not learn Hindustani. But if you wish to serve through India as world citizens hereafter, you will have not only to learn your own language but Hindustani and English also. You do not have to give up English because the English people have gone. When the British people went away, did we pack up the Railway engines along with them? You have the Railways and the Telegraphs going. You keep the courts and the English law going because they help us. Keep the English language also going. It is more important than Railways and Telegraphs.

A word to those who work in this field. Those who preach and teach Hindustani should not go about their work in a spirit of arrogance but of caution and wisdom. Our own languages in the South have richer and more beautiful literature, in my opinion, than Hindustani. Take up the cause of Hindustani therefore without wounding

the feelings and pride of those who are interested in their own language. Let us use the railway carriages without losing our respect for the bullock-cart. As soon as you get out of the railway carriage, you want the bullock-cart to help you out. Therefore I warn all people here to be wise and humble. I lay the foundation-stone of Hindi Prachar Samiti with pleasure. It is not merely a Hindi Prachar Samiti, it is a foundation for unity in India.

It is also a great honour to me to inaugurate the new extension in this City named after His Highness the present Ruler. May his name be an inspiration for us to triumph over problems of poverty. We must fight poverty. We must give poor people homes to live in. May Jayanagar not only be a memorial to His Highness in his name, but also an indication of the success we hope for. It is Victory Nagar and not merely a memorial for an extension. May those who live in this new city be good men and good women.

CENTRAL COLLEGE OLD BOYS' ASSOCIATION.

At the reception given by the Central College Old Boys' Association, Bangalore, on August 20, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am very glad that my old College has grown so big. It has encroached upon the premises of the jail. The space allotted to prisons is growing less and less and the space allotted to education is growing more and more. It gives me very great joy to be in these premises if only for a few minutes. Most of the things here remind me of times very long ago—times when there was no complication whatsoever in life. The Government was foreign and we led a simple life. Now everything is complicated. I have been a wanderer and after many vicissitudes I have settled down in a kind of prison called the Government House in Delhi. If my education had really been sound, I should have been a college professor somewhere! I am now on a ticket of leave. But even here I have got very vigilant watchmen who see that I do not do what I should not do.

It delights me to see so many sisters gathered here. I hope they are not just mere relations of the boys but are themselves products of collegiate education somewhere. Women's education had not advanced very much in my time. But Mysore had taken many steps in advance of the

rest of the country. You are now in the happy position of claiming that women's education is very much cared for in the State of Mysore. An educated girl is an educated mother, whereas educated boys are just educated boys. The education given to boys is ultimately given up to some employer, or some Government department. An educated girl becomes a member of a small school in her own home. The education we give to girls is a much better investment than the education we give to boys. I am sorry to appear to detract from the value of boys. But if you listen to me you can try to come to the level of the girls. Young men who have received education should make it their duty to devote some time to the education of their children. Men are very loyal and well-behaved in office, but they lose their temper and quarrel with everybody when they go home. If you wish your education to bear fruit, you must consider it a religious duty to bring up your children, to some extent relieving the labour of the school master. By teaching your children yourself, you will be learning a little more. When you begin to teach somebody, you learn a great deal more yourself. Do not entrust your children's education entirely to teachers.

It gives me greater pleasure to see you all than it gives you to see me. I see the need for human affection more and more. Nothing will save the world except human affection. I hope you will all cultivate it and not consider it irrelevant to intellectual progress. Unless you develop human affection, our country is not going to be happy. You may learn a lot of geology, biology or chemistry but try to protect the art of loving one another. Then everything will be all right in the family and in the world.

I do not know when I can come once again to your place. If I do, I hope you will have a soft corner in your hearts for me even though I may have laid aside the office of the Governor-General at that time. Are you showing respect to me or are you showing respect to my office? I tell you it is more important to pay respect to the office than to me. I am an Old Boy of the College and you may naturally like me. But whoever be the Head of the State in our country, you should respect and love him. You should assist all those whose names you raise in your slogans. You must strive to make the mother country more glorious and assist the Government in getting all things done properly. Democracy demands co-operation from all including students. Let me give you this parting thought. Now that India is free, now that Mysore is a part of the

Indian Union, there should be no more strikes in schools, colleges or anywhere. Do not go on strike. Solve everything by persuasion. We cannot afford to lose time. We must work all the time and the man who indulges in strikes is a traitor to the cause of the country. From now on everybody must do his work and produce something for the common good of the country.

May this College grow more and more and bring credit to the teachers and boys attached to it. As for the girls, do not get too proud because of what I have said. Do not neglect the duties of the family to which you belong. One half of the work in the State is done by mothers and sisters in the family. Unless you look after the family properly, children will not become good citizens and India will grow not better but worse. Therefore women are doing the more difficult part of the work. Mysore will grow great only if you all work hard.

GYMKHANA OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE.

Addressing the members of the Gymkhana of the Indian Institute of Science on August 21, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I felt quite easy on former occasions when I came here. Now I am called a "Visitor" and I do not really know what to tell you as a visitor. If you will kindly forget that fact, I may be able to talk to you more easily. I want you to realise your responsibilities. You are not here simply studying for a career. That may have been so before. Now everyone of you is studying to help Government which is very anxious to get the help of Science through you. I do not think that we have an Institute of this character and size anywhere else in India.

It was easy to concentrate on getting power transferred from the British. It was easier to fight than to organise. We fought thinking only about fighting. After we had done that, we have constantly found ourselves in very difficult situations. When people develop too much fascination for their leaders, they lose the habit of depending on themselves and rely for everything on the leaders. Those who have taken up the responsibilities of running the country find the position very difficult. I have been saying all this to you to lead up to this: without the help of

Science our leaders will not be able to do much for the country. That is why the Prime Minister continually and, if I may say so, wistfully looks up to the help of Science so that we may be enabled to do something for the people in spite of all our difficulties. Your studies as a whole are devoted to the service of the country and it must be a joy to you when you succeed in your experiments. I find from your faces that you are more interested in Hyderabad than in the Indian Institute! This is a symptom which the psychological laboratory will have to analyse.

There are some who toil to accumulate money till the very end of their lives without enjoying it. Then they die not knowing what will happen to their hard-earned money. They call a solicitor, draw up a will in a hurry but it goes all wrong afterwards. The same thing applies to study. It is for you to reason out after a certain stage whether you have studied enough and make up your mind to leave it to others.

It is very amusing for a visitor of the Indian Institute of Science to preach the doctrine of not studying! As long as you find joy in your studies, go on studying, but when you feel inclined to quarrel with your colleagues or find fault with the Director or somebody else, let me as a psychologist tell you that it is no fault of the Director, but it is your joy that is coming to an end and you must find a way out.

KANNADA SAHITYA PARISHAD.

Unveiling the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Kannada Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore, on August 21, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said —

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,—

It gives me much pleasure to have this opportunity to talk to you. Ever since Mahatmaji's death, I and many others like me have been asked to participate in various functions which serve only to remind us of our grief. Most of you seem to think that it is nice to ask men like me to go and unveil pictures of Mahatmaji. But let me tell you that it makes a difficult task more difficult. If a temple has been demolished by a storm or disaster, a visit to the site where the temple stood makes one only sadder. It is only a compelling sense of duty that makes me accept such functions. If you had asked me to come to the Kannada Sahitya Parishad, I would have come, even if you did

not ask me to unveil a picture of Mahatma Gandhi. But to unveil a picture of Mahatmaji and to remind myself of all the disaster and calamity that has happened serves no great purpose. We will not forget his face and these pictures do not look like his face. Whatever the skill of the artist may be, whatever his good intentions may be, pictures cannot look like the original. It is unnecessary to remember his appearance. It is necessary to remember his speeches. We remembered Sri Ram and Sri Krishna and others better before the introduction of cinemas. Our devotion and our piety gave us a true personality of Sri Ram and Sri Krishna. Cinemas brought indifferent artists to our mind.

Our duty now is to keep Mahatmaji alive. It is in our power either to keep him alive or to kill him. If you hate anybody, you kill Mahatmaji once again. If you do not forgive one who has done you some harm, you put another shot into Mahatmaji's body. A trial is going on in order to decide who killed him. But in our hearts the trial is going on whether we will kill Mahatmaji again or keep him alive.

I have said all this in order that we may realise what our work is. It is not filling the house with pictures of Mahatmaji. It is the filling of your hearts with the teachings of Mahatmaji. If there is any virtue in pictures, if there is any love for the picture you put up on the wall, you torture Mahatmaji again whenever you behave badly. That is *chitra-himsa*. If you wish to do any wrong, please do it, but do not ask Mahatmaji to look at it. Please do not put up recklessly his pictures about unless you resolve that you will behave better. I want you not to be sad, but I want you to be good. Mahatmaji died. He does not want you to be sad about it. Mahatmaji was like the salt or sugar which you must put into your food to spice it. It is unnecessary to grieve over the sugar or salt that has disappeared. Supposing the wife who is cooking *sambar*, *rasam* or any article of food begins to weep because the salt has dissolved, would it not look foolish?

We could not have conceived a better death for Mahatmaji. Can any of us hope to die when walking to a prayer with Ram Nam on our lips? Can any of us hope to die healthy and strong without pain or suffering? That was how Mahatmaji died. The moment he died men who disbelieved him all of a sudden began to believe him. All people throughout the world saw Mahatmaji's virtues and his character and his work. There is no need therefore

to grieve for Mahatmaji. There is plenty of need for grieving for our fellowmen when they are not doing what he has asked us to do.

As for Kannada, it will grow whether we work for it or not. If we work for it, we will get credit. If you do not work for it, it can still grow. The mother-tongue is a living language and there is no need to look after it. If you interfere with the growth of a plant, you will be doing it some injury but you will be doing nothing else. We bore holes in ears and nose thinking that we make a girl look more beautiful. All our service to our mother-tongue is like that. Until recently all mother-tongues in India grew happily like happy children in the forest. Now you catch hold of them, bore holes in ears and noses and send them to useless schoolmasters and ask them to teach your children. We "weigh" with scale pans to find out the weight of the original tongue and how much of other scripts must be mixed into it, like apothecaries. My point is that we must allow our mother-tongue to grow naturally and the less you interfere with it, the better it will be. For God's sake, allow the children to learn the mother-tongue from their mothers. Do not make it compulsory in schools. If you compel anything, you make people dislike it. The mother-tongue is too strong to be killed by any schoolmaster.

How to write in Kannada is a great problem to our people now. The best way to learn to write it is not to think about it but to write. Think about the things that you wish to say and not about the words. A horse does not wait to see which of its four legs is to go first and which next. It looks forward, not down at its feet. If you analyse how a language works, you will see that my analogy is not an amusing or a far-fetched one. Let the horse run, it will reach its goal. Keep your ideas clear and the mother-tongue will take care of itself.

Language has its own empire quite different from the empires of Asoka, Aurangzeb, Great Britain or even Rajagopalachari! Do not mix politics with language. Fill Kannada with good literature and the jurisdiction of Kannada literature will overstep all administrative barriers. The culture and the ideas that you fill Kannada with, will govern the people who speak Kannada wherever they may be. Improve your Kannada literature. Shakespeare had more influence over Germans than he had over the English people because the Germans admired and read Shakespeare. The sum total of my advice to you therefore is "enrich Kannada, do not speak about it".

INSTALLATION OF HIS HIGHNESS SRI RAMA VARMA AS MAHARAJA OF COCHIN.

On the occasion of the Installation of His Highness Sri Rama Varma as Maharaja of Cochin on August 21, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me great pleasure to be present here and be able to congratulate Your Highness personally on this auspicious occasion of Your Highness' installation. Cochin is smaller than many other States in area and population, but it has always been counted among the foremost in the quality of its administration and in the intelligence and culture of its people. This has been made possible because of the sagacity and statesmanship of Your Highness' predecessors who, adhering to the time-honoured principles of Rulership, have organised the administration of the State on progressive lines, built up its communications, developed its resources and educated its people. Nearly 50 years ago, a Viceroy of India, who was not a bad judge of the various Indian States, paid a tribute to Cochin saying that nowhere had he seen signs of a more intelligent or progressive administration than in Cochin. It was in the fitness of things that your State took the lead in the establishment of responsible government.

With a legal detachment bordering on recklessness, a theory was propounded that history could be reversed and that, with the withdrawal of British power, Indian States comprising a third of the land must revert to a state of unorganised political isolation. The constructive work of a hundred years was undone at one stroke and the gift of freedom was associated with potential chaos as a result of lapse of Central authority over a third of India. Imagine British Railway Engineers propounding a theory that when the British retired from India, the Railway and Telegraph systems should be sabotaged because they had been built by the British. Whether it ran in the name of the Crown or that of the Government, what was part and parcel of the machinery of Central authority in India was no less an asset than the Railway or Telegraph wires, and could not be rightly dissociated from all that had to be transferred. The doctrine of lapse of paramountcy over Indian States was propounded perhaps by British legal acumen for the laudable purpose of conserving the authority and prestige of Maharajas, in a context wherein the complete withdrawal of

British power had not been fully envisaged as a real possibility. But it was persisted in when it was clear it would lead to unadulterated chaos. A great lawyer Viceroy had, a little over twenty years ago, firmly and clearly negatived the possibility of reversing history or of whittling down the Central authority of India on the basis of a fictitious sovereignty which had no relation to reality. But this was forgotten or treated as irrelevant. With the greatest difficulty and the help of God we have done something to sterilize this most reckless theory of lapse of Central authority. The people of India are grateful to the Princes like Your Highness who, by their noble co-operation, made this task possible, and gave a lead in this direction.

The South, including Cochin, has escaped the troubles and travails which other parts of India had to undergo during the past year. Your Highness has the historic privilege of being the first Cochin Maharaja to be installed in free India. You are in the happy position of being able to concentrate on the welfare of your State with the fullest assistance and co-operation of the elected leaders of your people. I am aware that Cochin is confronted with many problems, but her people are patriotic and intelligent, and if they bring their undoubted gifts and abilities to bear upon the solution of these problems and co-operate patriotically, I have no doubt that, under Your Highness' guidance, Cochin can be an example and a model to other States. In all the efforts which Your Highness and your Government may make in this direction you may rest assured of the unstinted support and assistance of the Government of India. I wish Your Highness and Your Highness' family all happiness. I thank you and your Government for all your hospitality and the particular and personal pleasure that I have had at being present to participate in this Durbar.

ALWAYE FERTILIZER FACTORY

Addressing the workers of the Alwaye Fertilizer Factory on August 22, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

FRIENDS,—

I am extremely glad to have come here where something useful is being done. I am very glad to have come back to a place where I feel a homely atmosphere. In addition to the pleasure of feeling that I am at home, I also feel that here is a place where man is not lazy. I am very

grateful to those who have come here from distant continents to help us start this work. You should also be similarly grateful to them. We should treat them like guests who have come to help us.

If we are intelligent men, you will see that human enterprise is not going to end with the starting of fertilizer factories. We require the help of outsiders for a good long time to come, in more than one way. We should cultivate the friendship of the world. It is only in that way that we will also learn how to become great in the world.

I am very pleased with the work done here as compared with the work done in the Government of India factory. I hope, on behalf of the Government of India, that the Government of India will prove to be the tortoise in the race. The hare is now far in advance but if you go to sleep, the tortoise will overtake you. If the instruments here get out of order or if the people engaged here get into an angry mood, that would be the sleep of the hare. Then the tortoise will overtake you. Therefore, work hard. Be patient and wait for grievances to be remedied and do not stop work even when you are quarrelling.

MAHATMA GANDHI COLLEGE, TRIVANDRUM.

On the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Mahatma Gandhi College, Trivandrum, on August 22, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

CHIEF MINISTER, MR. GOVINDA MENON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

You have done me great honour in asking me to lay the foundation-stone of this Institution. It gives me great pleasure to lay this foundation-stone for an institution which is to bear the name of our departed leader

Names can be given easily. My father and mother gave me a great name, but people hardly think of Sri Krishna when they look at me. By giving names we encourage the hopes of parents. By giving the name of Mahatma Gandhi to this institution, you raise great hopes. There are many institutions which bear great names but nobody remembers the meaning of those names. We generally associate with an institution only what we see of it and often forget the name which it bears. I have walked over many bridges named after many eminent people but I confess that I hardly remember the persons in whose names the bridges had been erected.

We go our own ways as soon as the ceremony is over. Let us hope, however, that that will not happen in this case. At any rate, let me sound a note of warning on the occasion of the inauguration of this endeavour. I hope it will be remembered by the people who will have to work for this institution.

It will take some time before you get all the money and all the help required to build this institution. Nothing can be done as speedily as we desire but I hope that when the College is ready and working the boys and girls who go from this institution will remember the name of Mahatma Gandhi and the fact that this institution is in memory of his teachings. Let us hope that they will be nearer to Mahatma Gandhi's ideals than the boys and girls who are the product of other Colleges.

It is futile to attempt on our part to memorialise Mahatma Gandhi in the manner we are trying to do by raising an institution here and an institution there. The entire structure of life in India will have to be a memorial for Mahatma Gandhi. The entire Government, the whole of society and its ways of living—these have to be a memorial. A structure here and a structure there cannot serve the purpose. It is impossible to hold Mahatma Gandhi as it is impossible to hold the moving air that is giving life to us. We should realise that the whole life of India should hold Mahatma Gandhi within itself.

If we live a good life we shall be true to Mahatma Gandhi's teachings. If we run a little shop, selling the necessities of life to poor people in a proper way and tidily and usefully serve society, we can live up to Mahatma Gandhi's desire. If we accept office as a scavenger in a Municipality, we can be a memorial to Mahatma Gandhi. Whether we become elementary schoolmasters or Ministers or whether we are entrusted with the duties and thorny responsibilities of the Chief Minister himself, we can also serve his ideal. There is no branch of human activity which alone can be considered as being associated with Mahatma Gandhi or his teachings, because he has lived a full life. We will have to remember him in all the things that we do and in all the thoughts that we think and the wishes we entertain in our minds if we wish to be true to him. I hope you will all endeavour to do it.

I have come here on many occasions. I came here when you celebrated the opening of Hindu temples to all classes of Hindus. It was a great and momentous

occasion that marked a revolutionary change in the minds of the Hindus. I have again come here when, after a long struggle, democratic government has been made the basis of the life of the State. This also is revolution.

I am very glad that I have lived long enough to mark such great changes and to think that we have lived in great times like this. We have lived in great times and we have done great things. It is easy, as soon as we secure the beginning of a thing, to deteriorate and lose sight of the end. It is easy enough relatively to secure freedom but it is hard to make that freedom fruitful to the people. I hope that in this endeavour the memory of the great teacher and the grace of God will help us.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT TRIVANDRUM.

Replying to the Civic Address presented by the Mayor of Trivandrum on August 22, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

WORSHIPFUL MAYOR AND FRIENDS,—

I am very grateful for the welcome you have given. I had expected a great deal of affection when I came down to the South which I may call, in a way, my own particular place. I find not only that but such a great deal of thoughtful preparation and consideration for a position which by an accident I occupy. It gives me particular satisfaction to see that the fact that a common man has taken this place has not reduced your respect for the office. It is easy to get lost in a feeling of equality and not give that consideration to high office which it is necessary to give for maintaining the constitution. It is easy to make a change from the old government to the new. It is easy to replace all old officials, ministers and dignitaries by men of our own choice. But it is difficult to retain the prestige and authority for all these offices and positions so necessary in order that our country may not only carry on in a disciplined and orderly way, but achieve greater glory.

The freedom that we have secured, as I never tire of explaining, is only an opportunity, and not an end in itself. It is like day-break calling us to our duties. Unless we perform our duties, freedom by itself may mean nothing. It means hard work. It means that we should control our feelings and put aside old passions which is even harder.

I was this morning at the Fertilizer Factory in Alwaye in which the Travancore Government, the Madras Government and others are deeply interested as also the cultivators of the soil who produce our food. I told them that they will have to work hard and not go to sleep. Like the hare in Aesop's story, the Alwaye Factory has gone on and the tortoise which is the Sindri Factory of the Government of India, is far behind. But it is possible that if the management and the workmen at the Alwaye Factory go to sleep as the hare did, then the tortoise will be at the goal. There is of course no competition, as the Sindri Factory and the Alwaye Factory have the same object. Both of them have to reach the goal and it does not matter who reaches earlier. But I repeat the story for its moral.

You have achieved freedom. If you go to sleep over that freedom, not a tortoise but misfortune will overtake you. If under freedom and our own democratic government we fail to achieve things and make people happy, we cannot write about our failures in papers or agitate in the international press. It is, therefore, necessary that we should produce results. Common folk may think that this is the business of government. But we cannot achieve happiness under a democratic government unless we all combine and work hard each in his own sphere. Every home, street, town and city is a part of the same single machinery intended to produce happiness in the country. It is not only Ministers who are responsible for producing results. The people are also responsible. Criticism alone will not produce good government; co-operation alone can.

I am very grateful to you for the address. It is so sweetly and affectionately worded. When I was in Bengal, so much affection was bestowed on me that I wished very much that that might be the last experience of my public life. But it was ordained that I should go to Delhi and pass through days full of sorrow, bitterness, disappointment and anger, if not worse. For a little relief I have come to the south so that I may feel again the atmosphere of affection and consideration here.

It is your good fortune that after a long struggle you have got responsible government. Misfortunes and difficulties are hard to bear at the time but when all is over and we look back, we may look upon them as a blessing. We are thereby seasoned for the task ahead. Your leaders, Ministers, organisations and others are all seasoned by the struggle. Therefore they can bear responsibilities more

satisfactorily than those who secured responsible government without struggle or difficulties. Those who have attained political positions in Travancore should now look back with satisfaction and even gratitude, to those who oppressed them in the old days. You might look upon them as little children might look upon schoolmasters who used to cane them in the old system of education. I want you to be really grateful to those who appeared to oppress you.

The one thing we should do is to put aside hatred and memories of happenings which promote hatred. In Delhi or elsewhere in the north, I ask people to forget recent terrible tragedies—tragedies which cannot physically be forgotten. Yet I ask them to forget these. As long as Gandhiji was alive, he was asking people to forget the pain, cruelty and barbarities which they suffered. What I ask of you here is much easier—to forget things which could be wiped off with a handkerchief and forgotten. I want you to look up to the future with hope.

People in North India believe that in the South people are very intelligent. In the South the Tamil people think that the Kerala people are intelligent. Let us assume all these superstitions to be true. What follows? If in Travancore, which is the south of South India, you do not derive the essence of human happiness from this freedom, then self-government, freedom and responsible government are all disproved. You will have to go back to authoritarian rule and guidance from above instead of from below. It is your duty, therefore, to show that freedom and responsible government can produce people's happiness. It requires experience, restraint, intelligence and hard work and cannot be achieved by slogans or in haste. If you are in a hurry to get things done, there is then the danger that nothing is done satisfactorily. You have to be restrained, co-operate with one another and be never jealous of one another.

I speak so much about jealousy because that is the bane of party government. Jealousy is natural and is an incentive to work. Nature has implanted it in us. But we must not allow the fire to burn our house; we must only use it to cook our food. If we allow all consuming jealousy to burn us up, then everything is lost. Self-government can operate only through a few whom we choose. This has all the advantages of responsible government and authoritarian government. But if we lose ourselves in confusion, we can only get chaos. We require stable government; we require sufficient time for

stable governments to operate; we require patient helpfulness and not acrimonious warfare in the press and platform

I can do no more than appeal to you as Governor-General. The work of the Government of India is managed by the Cabinet in Delhi. They are all very good people, very able people. We cannot get better men to take charge of the country. We will not be able to make a better Cabinet for India for sometime to come. It is our misfortune that we have not more sets of such able men. Similarly, take any Province. If you forget controversy, light-hearted talk and all that and take up the actual responsibility of choosing A, B, C or D, you will see you are not always able to get a band which, first of all, will be able to work, secondly will have integrity, honesty of purpose and appeal with the general public and last but not least the capacity to work together. Individually, they may each be good and famous but sometimes a working combination may be difficult to make. So, you should not be rash in upsetting governments. It is better to give some time to test them. After all, responsible government is very new in our country. Though it is very old in conception, in actual practice it is very new. It is necessary to get the machinery and the ministry to work together.

We do not yet know the technique of creating and developing trust. You have to trust people, understand people and create trust in people. We have to use the tools and the machinery available. It cannot be done by new Ministers unless you give them some time. Everywhere in India this is the trouble. But everywhere in India I have also found that Ministers learn very quickly, because it is very natural and easy. Everybody learns to do things. Do not be impatient and all will be well.

Let us forget the idea of paying homage to Mahatmaji without doing what he desired us to do. I am not asking you to do the impossible. When doing a thing, ask yourselves, individuals or government, workers or managers, if that was what Gandhiji would have you do. You can surely guess it though his personality is absent and his winsome smile is no longer there. Now that he is gone, act as you know he would have advised you to act. This is not something impracticable. It is something which can be practised everyday. If you do that, Mahatmaji will still be a living force.

AT THE PARADE GROUNDS.

Speaking at the Parade Grounds, Trivandrum, on August 23, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

FRIENDS,—

I am asking your General to translate into Malayalam what I say in English. The Army is not the enemy of the people but a useful and faithful unit of the people. It is as much the servant of the people as the civil services. The people are their own masters now and every individual is the servant of the State. It is a noble occupation to give all you have in body and mind to the protection and safety of the land. It should be the noble ambition of every able-bodied young man to serve in the Army if he can get a place. You need not imagine that you are doing anything which people dislike. You are now doing what people like. Wherever you may be, whether in battle or in peace, you should look upon the women and children of the land as your own sisters and your own children. Even if you are fighting the enemy, the women and children of the enemy are your own sisters and your own family. This is the *Dharma* of our land and I hope that the Army of India will serve the *Dharma* of India. I wish you all good luck and wish you young men good careers and wish the State all prosperity and the Army all fame. The Army in India is now one and you are an integral part of it. Thank you very much for giving me this impressive and unforgettable welcome.

AT A GUILD OF SERVICE MEETING.

Addressing a meeting of the Guild of Service at the Museum Theatre, Madras on August 23, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,—

I am extremely glad to feel that I am again in my own home-town and among friends who will excuse faults, exaggerate virtues and altogether be very friendly. Mrs. Cheriyan told you to prepare yourselves to hear words of wisdom from me. I am afraid I may disappoint you a great deal. I am not yet ready with any wisdom particularly applicable to Madras! I have been moving from place to place so quickly that I can only talk generalities and not much wisdom.

We have had a great change in Government. We have raised very high expectations. We have not stinted to say that we are very good and able people. We did not mean to tell lies. But no one can guess what difficulties will come until they actually arise. With all the help of Science, weather prognosticators do not always accurately tell us what is going to happen. It is much more difficult to guess what is going to happen in the affairs of men before they actually happen. There is no body of people in the world more eager to make the people happy than the Government now in charge of India. Whatever discontented people or detractors may say, I can place my hand on my heart and vouch for this.

Our Government has been worried beyond measure by a number of problems. Even the things dearest to their hearts, have had to be put aside for the time being. That gives a handle to a number of drawing room politicians who say, "Look at this; it is thoroughly disappointing; we want this thing to be done in this way, but it is done that way". I wish we could play with the fortunes of our people and ask these drawing room politicians to take over charge for a week. We would then have to call in mental doctors to look after them. Ordinary people will go mad under the stress which our Government has been through. It is only God's grace and the good luck of our people that has saved these men from going mad.

Now the point is how can we help such people who are so earnest and so eager to make our people happy, instead of just passing judgment on them. It will take some time before alternative governments can be thought of. I tell you with all the earnestness I can command that it will take some time for things to stabilize and for wisdom to say "well, let us try another government". It is not mere talent that can command the country. There may be some very talented people outside the Government. It is not mere good intentions that can achieve things. There may be very many people outside with very good intentions if not talent. But what is required over and above all is influence over the people, and command over the people's affection in the largest measure. You cannot get any body of people who can command the affection of the people to the same extent as the present Government. We must therefore help this Government in the best way we can in order to make the people of India happy.

I hope no one is under the impression that I have suddenly come here at half-past three and taken up the

Madras Government as the object of my talk this afternoon. I am referring to the Government of India as a whole, and the Government of India includes in a general way all the Provincial governments in India as well. The authority that has now charge of our country cannot be put aside and an alternative government formed. The present Government must be helped if we are really good and wish to help the people.

That takes me to the present meeting. That which can be done by law, administrative orders or force, may be left to the Government. But a family requires not only a father but also a mother. Just as a family is guided by the authority of the father and by that indescribable force called the mother's affection, which also is necessary for the happiness of the family, in a State, without trying to make the analogy too perfect, all the social service organizations conducted by well-intentioned men and women, specially women, are in the position of the mother. The poor people in the country, the oppressed people and those who are at a disadvantage, all these people require not only laws and regulations, and monetary help, but a mother's affection in the first place to soothe and secondly to relieve distress. These things cannot be done by government organisations. Even if all the social organizations are clubbed together into an official federation and an expert honorary non-stipendiary officer is appointed to look after it, the ways of government do not suit the problem. It wants something other than mere orders and regulations. It demands affection, and for that reason, every government in the world, including that most perfect of all governments in regard to social affairs, namely, the Soviet Republic which depends so much upon official organizations, depends upon non-official voluntary service of a kind such as the one under whose auspices I have the privilege of speaking today. There may be Government help. The Governor's wife may be the moving spirit in it. There may be grants, there may be inspection and all that, but the moving force must be the urge in the human mind to help people in distress, the urge that I began calling a mother's affection.

No one is more aware than I of the fact that it is not possible to help everybody in distress through voluntary social service. We just touch the fringe of the matter. As our Indian proverb says, it is a drop of asafœtida in the ocean! Still asafœtida is required in our preparations though we put very little of it. I do not, therefore, want you

to make light of voluntary effort. It is true that the Secretary of a voluntary organization may be dressed in beautiful clothes. It does not mean that her heart is not equally dressed in pity or sympathy. I am also aware of the general criticism that is made of fashionable women who come to help poor people. It may happen that a Collector's wife may be very charitable while a poor man's wife is not. Poverty does not necessarily make people charitable. I do not blame poor people. But is it not right that we should encourage sympathy and charity to become the fashion along with dress and other things? Let us make it fashionable really. There is no necessary connection between ragged clothes and fondness for social service. The moral is only this. Let us not light-heartedly pass comments and discourage people from doing social service. Everyone is entitled to find expression for the urge of affection which God has placed in every human being—sometimes it may be suppressed, sometimes it may find free expression. All these organisations therefore require the encouragement of newspaper men, public men, Government and the people who pass comments on others without doing anything themselves. All these things are necessary and I am very glad that in Free India there will be more and more of these organizations.

Do not think that social service work was a peculiarity of old Government House manners. The new Government House will go on doing the same thing, let me tell you, and every man will hereafter do more in that direction than he ever did before. Our new Government in Free India will want the services of these and even more organizations. They will want them to work harder and they are bound to work harder. Look at this organization. It was doing a lot of work before also. After 15th August it has increased its work, widened its scope and taken in more people. The Diwan Bahadur (referring to Diwan Bahadur V. Bashyam Iyengar) is not a fashionable young person hovering about Government House. Why has he joined this organization? Because that is the urge of new India now. Almost all people will join this organization. Let all such organizations, whose common aim is to be charitable to people and help them in their difficulties as far as they can, work together. I am here, friends, as the official representative of Free India's new Government to say that all these social service organizations are most welcome to the Government, and everything possible will be done to help them in their work.

UNVEILING MAHATMAJI'S PORTRAIT IN MADRAS.

Unveiling a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Madras Legislative Council Hall on August 23, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. SPEAKER, YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me very great pleasure to see so many familiar faces in a familiar hall. The Speaker referred to my chair here. I must confess that I do not very much remember this chair. What I remember is the chair in the other hall, the Senate House. It was there I felt the thrill of functioning as Premier. My impression is I did not sit here very much. I was mainly responsible for not having agreed to have another Parliament House built on a grand scale which my late lamented colleague, Mr. Yakub Hasan, was eager to build. Mere considerations of economy made me stubborn and blasted his ambition to build a suitable hall worthy of a free, democratic Madras. Then I said that we could convert this dark corner into a chamber large enough for members. When a man in authority says it can be made, all the officials say, "Oh, yes". In this case everybody also put his heart into the work and made this just enough to hold the enthusiasm of the members of the Assembly. Anyway, it brought the Opposition and the Government very close together. In the other Senate House we were scattered and we felt the distance between the Opposition and the Government. Here we sat pretty close. Everyone showered his affection on me as if I was his elder brother or father. There was no difficulty in conducting the affairs of the House or the Government.

When I say all this, I am sure my successor, Mr. Ramaswami Reddiar thinks, 'was it possible at any time that things were so sweet and nice, how is it I don't see them now?' I shall tell him my answer straightway. The world is moving. We cannot remain in the same state; we are moving fast. We cannot help changing. The context is all different now. The work of the Government is different now from what it was before. I confess that I had a very easy task. Not only had I unqualified co-operation from all, including the Opposition, but the work itself was easier. Now the compass of Government work is very much enlarged. Everybody is angry with everybody else. That is the atmosphere we are in.

I have been given the very great privilege of unveiling the portrait which my friend, the Rajah of Chettinad, has presented to the Assembly as a token of his regard for the

Assembly and for the principles for which Mahatmaji stood Pictures we can have. But I must tell you as I told my friends in Bangalore the other day that you do not make it easier for me to forget the grief that is common to all-India. You do not enable me to forget my personal grief by asking me to unveil this picture where, whatever the talents of the artist may be, I do not see the man.

It is conventional when you are unveiling a picture to say how very good a likeness it is. It may be a very good likeness in this case also. But I do not have the heart to look at the picture, not to speak of judging it. It may not be considered the right thing to talk like this when one is given the honour and privilege of unveiling a portrait of a great man. But as it is my habit and conviction to speak out exactly what I feel, I told you what I felt.

It pained me to be asked to unveil a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi. When the Speaker asked me to do this, it pained me also to wrangle with him. I did not wish to tell him 'no' because he would not understand my feelings. He would say I was trying to be humble or modest. I am not sure whether you all feel like me. Do you find satisfaction in having Mahatma Gandhi's picture painted and kept here? Can you see the man in it? I cannot. I do not see the man because the man was very different from all these pictures. So friends, I do not indulge in the conventional appreciation generally indulged in on such occasions.

It is worthwhile, however, to have a symbol. These pictures are only symbols; they are not likenesses. Mahatma Gandhi asked the people to boycott the Assembly. Later on, he asked people to enter the Assembly. But he did not think it was a contradiction of his previous attitude. When the time came for legislative work to be undertaken, he said they should go into the Legislative Assembly. He did not believe even then that the world would be made happier by legislative assemblies. He himself never thought that he was good enough to be a member of a Legislative Assembly although, I may tell you from my intimate knowledge and detached observation, he would have been as good a member as any of us, if not better. Let me add, however, that he had no great attraction for that kind of work.

Why then is his picture here? There is appropriateness because you are law-makers. You make laws from time to time. You make laws reading newspapers every day, gauging public opinion, addressing election meetings and asking

people what they desire. Earnest men who serve in the legislature make laws by the sense of right or wrong which they feel in their inner being. Whatever the context, or proposals, they have to go finally through this test in their own minds, "Does this proposal fit in with the pattern of law in the abstract and not merely law with a capital 'L'?" Law in the abstract is what you have in your mind. Dharma you may call it in our own phraseology. You must make laws which are consonant with Dharma. Mahatmaji is a symbol which you may keep before you whenever you make laws. If you think that this picture will help you to make laws in that manner, it is worthwhile having it here.

At this distance, even forgetting my personal feeling, it is difficult for me with so many garlands on it to be able to judge the picture. I am told by the Speaker that it is very good. But at this distance, the mike in the picture which Mahatmaji is represented to be speaking through seems to be a symbol of the later half of Gandhiji's life when he invariably used the loud-speaker to enable his feeble voice to be heard so that he might communicate his thoughts to all around.

Let me tell you that Mahatmaji, the exponent of the old spinning wheel, the so-called enemy, as some people believed, of time, machine and advancement, was not really an enemy of advancement or machine. He was the enemy of the machine when the machine became the master and man became its slave. As long as the machine served man, Gandhiji loved the machine as he loved anything that served man. So Gandhiji did not desire to discard the loud-speaker. Indeed, he used the loud-speaker quite often. I wish he lived to use it a little more until all our work was done. When on January 30th, he was about to use the loud-speaker, his life was cut off and he parted company with us.

Let people think that Mahatmaji is not only speaking through the mike to vast audience but putting forward a plea for a continual honest endeavour. He wanted people to work. Work is the only thing by which man can justify his existence. He must work and produce and it is only then he has a right to live. He has to work honestly and without caring for personal advantages. He has to work in a detached way. That was Bapu's doctrine, the doctrine of the Gita and all the other scriptures of the world. Mahatmaji came in our time to impress that doctrine on us. To work in a detached way and not to remain idle is, in short, Gandhiji's plea. I hope that the members of the Legislative Assembly will draw that lesson from this picture,

In the old days some of my colleagues used to spin with *Takli* in hand, the Speaker looking on severely at them all the time. Of course, the Speaker might well have said that members were there to debate and not spin yarn. But one thing that we in Free India must remember is that we should not misunderstand one another. We should work hard to overcome prejudice and spread love. That also is Mahatmaji's doctrine. His great desire was that we should understand and work for this country. I can do no better—you can do no better—than to preach this doctrine wherever possible and make it go down to the hearts of the people and not merely remain an empty word without real meaning. Do not misunderstand one another. If you want your villages to be happy and your Province to be happy, get away from the habit of misunderstanding one another and get into the habit of understanding one another. God is in everybody's heart. Everybody will be kind and loving if you will love and be kind.

We do not know the mystery of life or how God works. But I know this that, if you love a man, he returns the love without knowing or without any effort. Try and you will see you succeed, as you all believe that I have succeeded in Bengal. I succeeded, as everybody now claims, because I loved everybody and everybody loved me. If you want to be loved in the world, try hard to overcome prejudice and extend your genuine affection to those around you and make this world happier. If I don't say this on this occasion, I will not be true to the picture. This is all that I have to say and I thank you, Mr. Speaker, for the privilege you gave me to associate myself with this function.

AT THE INDIAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

Addressing (in Tamil) members of the Indian Women's Association at Rajaji Hall (Madras) on August 23, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

SISTERS,—

I am grateful to you all for your sincere welcome. With all the good wishes and goodwill extended to me in your address I am confident I can carry on successfully the great responsibilities entrusted to me. I feel very happy to see such a large gathering of women in Madras. The manner in which you have gathered in such large numbers today shows that you are willing and prepared to take your share in public affairs.

Whatever men may say and do, I am sure that women all over the country wholeheartedly support the Government. You have in your address referred to the message I sent to the All-India Women's Conference last year. I then said, "May the women of India try to undo what mischief the men have in recent times done to themselves". Thinking over those words again, I am pleased that I sent you such a true message. We must all co-operate, specially the women of India, who can do a great deal.

What is the disease from which this country is suffering today? It is mutual distrust. There is no enmity or ill-feeling in this country. There is only mutual suspicion and fear in the minds of people. That should be got rid of. There is not so much distrust among women of various communities. Women are best fitted to remove that distrust. I feel that this distrust is due more to fear and misunderstanding. We must remove that fear. We must not make much of small differences between us. Women may have their own associations, their own meetings and their own activities, but they must all work for one common purpose, namely, the removal of fear and distrust among the communities.

To achieve this purpose, women can arrange to have meetings to which women of all communities might be invited. On festive occasions you can invite the women of other communities. By such gatherings you can promote mutual understanding. South India has earned the admiration of the rest of India by keeping free of communal troubles. Whatever happens, feelings of friendship between Hindus and Muslims must be promoted and maintained. The more women devote their attention to social service the more they will serve the country. God will bless you and guide you in the work that you have set before yourselves.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT MADRAS.

In reply to the Civic Address presented by the Corporation of Madras on August 23, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

WORSHIPFUL MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

To the people of the City of Madras I tender my most grateful appreciation for their kindness and unbroken affection. I was trying to see whether there was anybody whom

I did not know among the Councillors of the City. Barring one or two all of them are more or less old friends and I have nothing new to tell them and they have nothing new to tell me.

It is a privilege to command so much affection. Words have been generously employed to explain that I have done this or done that; but I know the real reason why we are all so exhilarated. The reason is as I have often observed—we have not understood exactly what we meant when we asked for self-government. Not having understood it, we are surprised when one of our own men is appointed to a high office. If we really meant what we said when we wanted self-government and full responsible government, it must be easy for us to see that nothing else can happen. We have to bear not only with one Governor-General but with many successive heads of state being appointed from our own ranks and from ordinary familiar material. No Englishman will hereafter come to take up the office. One after another, one of ourselves must be appointed and must accept the office. I, having come first, have had the advantage of exciting your feeling of exhilaration so much. You will get used to such things and you will make no more of it than you would make of a man becoming Prime Minister in Madras or another man losing his Prime Ministership! It will all be in the normal course of things.

We have to bear with another, suffer one another and make the best of one another—that is the most important thing. Men come to serve us in one capacity or other. We must hasten to learn how to make the best use of them. Important and competent judges from abroad have told me, not to flatter me or our people but to cheer me up when I felt depressed over many things, that our people have produced leaders and administrators, ministers and legislators who can compare with any other officers, leaders, ministers, or legislators in the world. I believe them. Eminent men from abroad have pointed out to me that difficulties, exactly like those we have here, crop up in other places also. Therefore when I see things and reflect calmly, I see that our men and our leaders are as good, as sincere, as genuine and as single-minded as anybody else in the world filling a similar position.

Ours is a country of which we can be proud. We have men and women of whom we can be proud. We suffer from an illusion which makes us regard men and things we know as if there was nothing remarkable about

them Let us therefore understand one another. Let us make the best use of those who come to serve us. Let us not make things more difficult than they are. It is difficult for 350 million people to pull together under a democratic form of government. It is easy to govern with troops or through force. It is difficult for a large body like our nation to govern itself through self-restraint which is another name for democracy. It is not possible to run democracy in India as we can run it in a small town or state. Much more understanding is necessary in our country than democracy in smaller countries demands. We have to learn, therefore, how to govern ourselves.

We have excellent material but we must know how to use it. That is why I put it in common language that we must make the best use of those who come to serve us. Democracy is the process of a number of people coming together to serve the country. It is not a process of mere wrangling. A number of people from the ranks of the ordinary will come to serve and we must know how to harmonise things and make the best use of them.

The Municipal Corporation of Madras has its problems, the one particular problem being how to find money. We go on expanding our activities and we create problems for ourselves. The City is growing, growing so big, that almost everybody in the Province wants to come and live in Madras. Everyone wants to come and do business in Madras. Everyone wants to come and get healed of some disease or other in Madras. Everyone wants to educate his children in Madras. Everyone wants to be amused in the picture halls of Madras. Everybody from everywhere in the Province is drawn towards Madras as iron filings are drawn to a magnet

Now all people come together to Madras and the evil is growing on itself. Our problems go on increasing. What shall we do then? My advice is that we must do something to make the other towns also attract people. It is only then that there is salvation for Madras. Not even an extra quarter anna on the railway ticket as terminal tax will save the City of Madras. The people who come and who pay the quarter anna or half an anna at the railway station, will demand much more from you in the City of Madras than they do now. We must, therefore, do something to make other towns and cities as attractive as Madras.

What is the attraction that draws people to cities? Amenities, facilities for education, facilities for medical

help, sanitation, good water, parks, music—these draw people. Unless we create similar surroundings and attractions in other places, Madras will go on adding more and more fat round it like a man or woman who gets too stout, and Madras is bound to be unhappy. Neither octroi duties at the roads nor an additional quarter anna, half an anna, or more on railway tickets will save us.

Nothing but commonsense can save us. We must make other towns and cities, if not as beautiful as Madras, at least nearly as good. People will go there and our problems in Madras will at least find a limit. Let us put a ceiling to our problems; let us not increase these problems.

It is not only Madras that suffers from this. In all Provinces it is the same story. In Madras Province you have at least some other fairly good towns. You can, in some other towns also, pull a lever and get a flush to operate. But take Bengal. Outside Calcutta there is no place which can be called a town. The whole of Bengal lives in Calcutta. The problem is even more serious there. As all Municipalities are represented here, I say these few things so that you can think about them. Municipalities by themselves cannot do much. The financial system on which we are working now is such that other towns cannot be made beautiful or attractive. Hence we have to discover a way out of it.

There is a great deal of work to do before freedom can bring joy to the people. By itself it is not much. You can ask the Prime Minister of India whether he is more happy today than he was before. He may be compelled for the sake of consistency to say: 'Yes, I am very happy because we are free'. But if you find an apparatus to look into the heart, you will find that he is really less happy than he ever was. Let us be wise. Freedom is after all only a means for happiness. Having got it, we must work hard to make one another happy. We cannot make one another happy or be ourselves happy, unless we learn how to understand one another. To understand one another is the first difficulty.

There are many grave dangers before the country of which everyone is conscious. Everyone is afraid of wars and troubles. There is war in the atmosphere all over the world. As you believe me to be somewhat of a successful prognosticator, let me assure you that the

world may talk very bitterly and very angrily, but it dares not go to war. You may read of all kinds of terrible language, but you will not see the world so foolishly going to war as we imagine.

Some want war, but they do not want to learn Hindustani. They want everybody to join together and fight, but do not want a common language. We have to learn many truths before we can learn to be happy. I am very sad to see that Madras, famous for intelligence, is, in my humble opinion, still far from real intelligence. I am intelligent enough to see that we are very stupid indeed. We do not know what is good for us. We have to learn a good deal. But of one thing I am sure. We are all good people; but we must understand one another. And we will do so very soon.

I have come to find joy for a few days by staying in your midst. I am trying to see as many people as possible. Unfortunately it is easier to tour in a place I have not previously known than to tour in a place I have known. There are so many friends who get angry because I have not shaken hands with them, or gone to their homes, or looked at them and smiled, or accepted invitations from them. When you visit a place and if you possess some adventitious importance, you leave more enemies behind when you go than when you started. I hope my appeal will be heard and that no one will expect me to do more than I can physically do within the short time I have. I have no hope of gathering the joys of friendship or communion with dear people until I resign from office and come here. Unfortunately we have still so much of the children in us that we believe something has happened to a friend because he has been made Governor-General and therefore, he must come while he is Governor-General to our houses or sit with us. I really wish it were possible for me to see everyone of you. But it is not possible and you must take it that I have done it. I will come one day and claim the right to meet, visit and talk to everyone of you. I hope you will not then neglect me, because I have laid down my office.

As an old man, I claim the right to offer blessings to you all. May God give you wisdom, much wanted wisdom and may God give you happiness, much wanted happiness which it is only in His power to give.

THAKKAR BAPA VIDYALAYA HOSTEL.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech (in Tamil) at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Hostel attached to the Thakkar Bapa Vidyalaya in Thyagaraya Nagar, Madars, on August 24, 1948 —

MOTHERS, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,—

Mr. V. Bhashyam Iyengar and Dr. Alagappa Chettiar have asked me to join my prayers with yours that this institution and the movement of which it is a fruit may flourish more and more. Many are the movements inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi in this country. Some of these have fared very well and some not quite so well, while a few have flagged and even faded away. The movement for Harijan uplift has gone on from strength to strength. It is being carried on with enthusiasm. I am very happy that it is so. For, Harijan uplift is no easy work, especially in South India. But by God's will and His Grace it has succeeded well. We did not expect so much success. But God so directs things that sometimes where success is expected, failure results and where great difficulties are expected, things prove easy and lead to success.

Not a little of the success that has attended this institution is due to the tireless energy and enthusiasm of those engaged in the work. People who meet Mr. Bhashyam Iyengar for the first time are apt to be misled by his appearance. People imagine that he is a rigid Sanatanist and that it is impossible that he can be associated with Harijan uplift work. For, there seems to be a notion that it is only those who have given up wearing on their face the *namam*, *vibhuti* or other marks that will take to this kind of work. People who entertain this notion have not understood the true significance of these marks. These are but symbols of the yearning and the inner urge in one to get near to God. Westerners sometimes call these marks 'caste marks' which indicate caste distinctions. That is not true. In fact, men of whatever caste among the Hindus, wear *namam* or *vibhuti* alike, according as they are Vaishnavites or Saivites. These marks only indicate the desire in one to get near to God. Therefore, I would request you on this occasion not to look on these as denoting 'high caste' or 'low caste' or to be frightened by the *namam* on his face or confused by the absence of any such mark on mine. You must keep your minds clear about things and avoid misunderstanding, needless prejudices and worry from which spring our misfortunes.

Ours is a vast land and our community is a vast one. Our characteristics—our strength as well as our weakness—are equally phenomenal in proportions. We have great patience; we sometimes exhibit great anger and passion. We are capable of great effort but also succumb to great lethargy like Kumbhakarna. We rise to great heights of nobility but also fall prey to grievous misunderstandings and passion. We are capable of the highest philosophy and devotion to God and also of great cruelty to our fellow men. It is essential that we should learn to bear ourselves in a way that will take us forward to progress and strength.

We should bear in mind that so long as distinctions remain, these institutions and the need for such institutions will continue. It is necessary, however, that after we reach a certain stage of progress, we should discard these adventitious aids. The dependence on such institutions should cease after a stage. It is something like stopping administering of medicine to a sick man when he reaches a certain stage in his cure and allowing him to recover health and strength naturally without the aid of drugs. The process will then be to induce the patient to see that he no longer needs the aid of medicine for his good health. We must make people forget distinctions just as it is necessary to make a patient forget his illness after a particular stage. The efforts to induce that confidence must continue.

I am glad to see that Mr. H. D. Raja has come forward to make good whatever is wanting after the collections are made. Water in a lake is for the good of the cultivators. The lake might imagine that the gathering waters are for its own benefit; but when the water swells, it becomes necessary for the lake to disgorge it. That is the natural law. Like the lake, men who have amassed wealth should also give freely of it for the benefit of others. Let no one therefore cast angry looks at the wealthy. If we are patient, we will find that the wealthy would themselves come forward to be free with their possessions for public good.

The cause with which this function is connected is a very just one. I hope this institution will prosper. I thank the organisers for the opportunity they have given me to associate myself with this function. I know what I have laid today is not really the foundation. The stone I laid today only symbolises the foundation already laid deep and strong. I hope that in your hearts too the foundation is now

laid of goodwill for this institution. I once again thank you all.

MUSLIM ORPHANAGE AT MADRAS.

On the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the new building for the Muslim Orphanage at Thyagaraya Nagar, Madras, on August 24, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Just as my old friend, Mr. Hameed Khan said that his joy knew no bounds, I also feel the same and my pleasure may also be described as knowing no bounds on this occasion. It was more than ten years ago, I believe, that as Premier I was associated with the grant that was referred to here. I am very glad that arrangements have been made to secure about two square furlongs of land for this Orphanage.

It was very sweet to hear the children sing the thanks to me and I wish to tell you that I feel that these children are my children just as much as children of any other community are. Since we should always extend more affection to those who feel depressed and afflicted and to those who are afraid, I wish to ask you all, my Hindu friends, to treat Muslim children as your own children and, if possible, with special favour so as to remove their fears and their doubts.

We are, both as a Government and a people unchangeably pledged to treating all people alike. Not only our Government, but the Dharma of our people also commits them to this attitude of perfect equality irrespective of caste or creed. I want you to make this your practical code of thinking and acting. We will not achieve our goal of glory in the world if we in India were to swerve from this path. We must treat all people alike and if any difference is to be made to remove temporary doubts and fears, the difference must be all in favour of those who suffer from fear or doubt. I am therefore greatly delighted to be associated with this function. It is very pleasing to be told that I was associated with the primary grant in connection with this institution and it is very pleasing again to be here to lay its foundation-stone.

There are many difficulties in all human endeavours and those of you who were present with me when I laid the

foundation-stone, saw an example of it. The stone itself was so tied up that I could not lay it quickly and properly. Our very efforts are sometimes so entangled that we are not able to achieve what we desire quickly. What happened just now is only a small example of the general principle. We should not be impatient. If I had been impatient and cut the ropes that were tied round the stone with a knife, the stone would have landed on somebody's fingers. We must similarly be patient with the delay and difficulties in raising this institution.

Do not lose your patience or your temper with the Government of Madras because owing to many difficulties they are not able to give the money you ask them in the very first year. But they are sure to give. We shall not progress in this complicated world unless we are patient with one another. This is God's world. You believe in God. He is all-powerful and will look after everything. It is only a question of time. Do not lose patience with your fellow-beings because it would amount to losing patience with God Himself. We shall achieve what we desire in course of time. Any delay, difficulty or opposition will ultimately strengthen the structure. We need not always imagine that every difficulty is the work of Satan. There is no Satan really. It is really the work of God and all our difficulties are God's trials.

I give my best wishes to all friends who are working for a common cause. Your orphanage is not a Muslim orphanage; it is an Indian orphanage. According to the taste and requirements of several groups of people, several different institutions will have to be raised. But they are all Indian orphanages. They are all my children, let me once again tell you. May God bless you all!

AT THE ETHIRAJ COLLEGE FOR WOMEN.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Ethiraj College for Women, Madras, on the occasion of the unveiling of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait on August 24, 1948:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me great pleasure to hear so many sweet things about me over and over again. A man may be drowned in syrup as much as in salt water. It is really somewhat embarrassing to be appreciated so plentifully, especially in one's own place where I know everybody. But it

is not necessary to analyse either my gifts or my performance to share this large joy with one another. Let us forget all about myself. Let us even forget politics, for the time being, with which unfortunately Mahatmaji was so much entangled because it blurs our vision to some extent, in appreciating his work and in estimating our loss. He died when there was so much to be done after attaining freedom for which indeed he was specially required. Just what we are deficient in, he had. He would have put it in very simple and plain language. Now we must be content with pictures, more or less well done. If intentions were the measure, all pictures are good. But if the net result in our mind is the measure, nothing can satisfy us. We want the man again, but he cannot be restored to us.

There is so much eagerness for education now amongst womenfolk that, I think, even if we had ten more Ethirajs, the needs of women's education would still be unsatisfied. I do not think that boys are half so studious as girls. There is a certain extraordinary amount of concentration which the girls give to what they have taken up. Perhaps girls have a natural advantage over boys, because the Goddess of Learning is a woman. Our people who framed our legends and mythology knew these things very well. They knew that learning is best looked after by womenfolk. The mother looks after the family and brings up, so to say, the seed. Men are busy with what has been produced but the mother must conserve the good seed in good condition. The family therefore which has to preserve, carry and transfer culture to the next generation, is looked after by the mother and the mother is looked upon as Saraswati.

Mr. Ethiraj, I congratulate you on the excellent use you found for the money you have earned. There are many tanks the waters of which are used for irrigating green fields below, but your tank will irrigate the seed bed, so to say, of culture in our country. You have done very well with your money. It is a pity you did not make more money. I give my best wishes to the College which you have founded. May it withstand all storms that may come and may it become stronger by the stress of the storms and grow.

Do not quarrel about the method of education. All work will stop when we launch a controversy. Nature is so strong that whatever may be the method, nature will look after herself and girls will grow all right, whether you teach through English, Tamil or even Egyptian. Minds will grow

and nature will not be defeated by any error on the part of mankind. Do not, therefore, waste your time in controversies. Carry on with your work in the College. Let girls remember that knowledge is not an end in itself. As soon as they get the requisite satisfactory minimum of knowledge, they must marry and look after their families.

AT THE LOYOLA COLLEGE.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Loyola College, Madras on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi on August 24, 1948 :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

You need not think that I am just telling you a polite thing when I say I am very delighted to see boys and professors of the Loyola College behaving as I expected them to behave. You have great standards to maintain. I have a very high opinion about you, and trust you will never fall below that standard. This College is going to produce young people year after year fit to be leaders of the country.

In a free country, colleges produce leaders. There is no antagonism now between education and patriotism. In the old days, the Government was different from the people and education had to serve Government first and only incidentally patriotism as a by-product. Now this is a factory for patriotism pure and simple—not patriotism of a vaporous type, but patriotism, if I may say so, of a solid and substantial pattern. Hereafter, if you get a hundred boys out of the College, eighty of them must be fit for public service whether as legislators or leaders of the people. One of them may even have to be ready to become Governor-General. All our education must be so directed as to produce this result.

Let not boys rack their brains about the method of education that will produce these results. The great author of *Alice in Wonderland* has told us that if a centipede begins to think which foot should go first and which next, it will not proceed at all. You are like the hundred legs of the centipede. Do not think of methods but get all you can possibly get out of the excellent institutions which have been left for us. Many institutions have been left to us by the people who preceded the present Government. The Loyola College is one of them. We must preserve it properly. Do not waste time on changing names. Remember

that Loyola is a great name and if only you succeed in producing every year a hundred Loyolas, it will be a remarkable thing for India.

It gives me great pleasure to unveil this fine portrait which will remind you for all time of the man who was held by millions not only in India but all over the world in deep regard. Life in these days is very difficult. Such a good man as Gandhiji had actually to die before he could get all men to believe him. Until the moment of his death, although millions of people loved him, a few had not been really convinced by him. They were doubting him but, like a miracle, the moment he died all the people who disbelieved him, with one voice wept for him.

It just proves that people in the modern, complex days demand the extreme form of truth—truth that kills the thing which is itself truth. We cannot prove ourselves unless we die. Now that is a thing that makes us sad but let us be proud that here in India, we had one who could prove himself in that supreme manner. It gives me great pleasure that the boys of this College had thought of this portrait of Gandhiji and waited for me to unveil it. You have all presented me for the Gandhi Memorial Fund a purse full of coins. I congratulate you. It is not the money that is important. It is the earnestness, thoughtfulness and exertion behind it that I appreciate.

It makes me happy to see that things are not going from bad to worse, but that things are improving. Let me tell the Premier of Madras, “here is proof for you to be cheerful”. Things are improving. What is wanted now is to cheer up and encourage one another. We may have to go through many difficulties for which we have not been prepared. But we will go through them.

The standard of the Madras University is very high. Do not let it go down. The pressure of democracy may be brought to bear on anything in the world but not on the standard of education of the University. Do not compel the University to come down to you; you must go up its steps and reach it.

AT THE COSMOPOLITAN CLUB.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Cosmopolitan Club, Madras on August 24, 1948 :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

The Cosmopolitan Club is an old institution and one very familiar to me. The decorations which you have very

kindly made in the hall to make me feel cheerful have made it look a little less familiar than really the place is to me. I miss many old faces here, faces of those who were uncrowned kings of this Club. Death must take away its toll and the Club like other institutions has had to part with a few of its dominant personalities. Still quite a lot remain and I hope you will make the best use of them and not make them feel that there is only room in it for young men. As an old man myself, I wish to warn young men that whatever they do in the outer world, in the Club they must make old men feel comfortable and happy so long as they are there. You will miss them very much when they go away.

Clubs in India should develop good manners and should be places where you can forget all other differences in politics and other controversial matters. In these days everything is controversial—social reforms are controversial and even language has become controversial. All those differences must be put aside. We must have one spot where all men who claim to be enlightened and who have leisure can meet together and overcome various prejudices generated in the course of their daily work. In the days when I was one of the campaigners in politics, there was a prevalent feeling that Clubs were on the whole useless and the members thereof were not doing useful work. When everybody was anxious and busy, these people played bridge, chatted without any serious purpose, wasted time and above all thought they were very important. That was the feeling when I was an active politician; not that it was my feeling, but it was the feeling of the people working in the field I was engaged in.

But as has been found by men's experience recorded in the Old Testament, a stone that is considered less fit may prove to be the corner stone of the structure to be raised. Today institutions like yours and Clubs where there is no politics have become most important for the cultivation of unity, strength and harmony in society, which are the things for which we should campaign now, now that we have attained freedom. The present times are such that we must make it a campaign. It is not enough merely to recognise the value of harmony. We have to work for it very hard. As politics was important before 1947, so is harmony important now and is the one thing for which men like Gandhiji worked. Freedom having been achieved, we have to work hard for harmony without which we cannot find happiness in this country.

Where can harmony be generated? Not in the Legislative Assembly, not in the newspaper offices, not in the bazaars and not even, perhaps, in isolated temples where people isolate themselves from each other, but in clubs where all kinds of persons meet and sit together. Therefore, institutions like your Club are hereafter really Temples of Harmony. There is a great mission for institutions like this and that mission is the cultivation of good understanding, good fellowship and the great art of forgetting differences. I am obliged to say something in a serious manner which I hope will find a response in your minds. Whatever avocation, whatever work you may have outside, when you come to the club for relaxation remember what I have told you. Even in that process of relaxation you are fulfilling a very sacred duty towards the motherland. Try to cultivate friendship where it may appear to be difficult and try to cultivate intimacy where it may appear almost impossible. Become friends with one another and do not flock together, according to the proverb, with birds of the same feather, but flock together with birds of different feathers and cultivate harmony that is so necessary for our country.

Madras City has improved in many ways and everything is going on well here and the people are very good people. Their heart is full of affection and they have a sense of humour which is the highest philosophy. Do not take anything too seriously. Madras is very good compared to other Provinces. I think a sense of humour is deep-rooted in this Province. Let us never give it up. That is the highest philosophy that Vedanta may discover. Therefore, I have reason to be glad. My impressions of the City are very favourable.

People are depressed all the same on account of many difficulties that present themselves now. We are all responsible to the people of whom we have taken full charge. We are not very confident about ourselves. But as your President has said, there is no reason to be depressed. Very talented people and very good people, universally respected, are in charge of the affairs of the country. Whatever individual feelings may be, on the whole, no country has been so lucky as we at such a critical moment as the one we are passing through. We had for so many years a God on earth, so to say to teach us the way of life. Not many countries have had the advantage of having such personalities in flesh and blood to teach them.

In these days, people of other countries have to look up to old scriptures to find lessons which we found in that living person who was moving amongst us till the other day. Then as soon as the burden of freedom was placed on our shoulders, we had men of ability and character and men commanding public confidence to take over the burden. Not many countries have been so lucky. Even now in the face of very severe trials, as I am never tired of pointing out, men of the highest ability and character throughout the world have complimented our Government on the way in which they have faced the troubles. Those men have offered to some of us who were depressed by what is going on, great consolation by their appreciation. So on the whole we cannot complain.

All that we now require is that people of all sorts should make up their minds to help one another, rather than compete with one another. Competition is good; but at certain points of time in the history of a people, competition is not of much value. We must help one another, we must pull together, and we must all now work hard together. All of you are engaged in various occupations. The difference between public servants and Government servants, merchants and citizens—all that is gone now. That kind of illusion has resolved itself. Everyone is the servant of the State now. Everyone is bound by rules of public conduct. We must all work together, each in his own way.

Do not make a distinction between public speeches and private conversations. That distinction must be thrown aside. In private conversation we must observe the same caution and the same sense of discipline that we do in public. These are the secrets of daily conduct which may look very new, but are not really new. That is the lesson I have received from Mahatma Gandhi. What is right is right under all conditions. Let me come to the particular from the general. When you sit round a bridge table, do not talk things which you will not like to say in public. Every little drop of water makes together the waves of the sea. In the same manner, every whisper, every conversation, every talk in private, all these go together to make national life. Let us purify our national life. Let us all combine to lighten the burdens the leaders are bearing on their shoulders, here or at Delhi. All those who have taken the responsibility of making people a little happier, look to you for every assistance and you should help them.

THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Annual Convocation of the Madras University on August 24, 1948 :—

MR. CHANCELLOR, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am grateful to His Excellency the Chancellor for giving me this privilege of seeing the glad faces of the newly admitted graduates of the University and of giving them my good wishes. Dear young friends, the life-work of men of my generation has been very nearly completed. The lamp which it has pleased Providence to enable us to light will now come under your care. Protect it against the ill winds that blow against it. I value deeply the opportunity offered to me to say a few words to you today. During this initial period of independent national life, many a trite saying gets real and relevant meaning. So if I say some very ordinary and oft-repeated things, please do not think I just fill up time in a conventional way. I am a practical and serious-minded man though I like a joke as much as anyone else. I love you greatly, and what I say is an earnest appeal to you and others like you.

I can claim His Excellency the Chancellor as a friend over and above the bonds that tied us both in official tasks. I know that the people and the Government of the Province are sorry that he is leaving Madras. But it is a consolation that he as well as Lady Nye will continue to be in India in a different capacity in which too there will be many opportunities for friendly assistance on their part to those who are engaged in national work, to me and others as well. Sir Archibald Nye as well as Lord Mountbatten have, during the past year when they courageously and chivalrously remained with us after the transference of power, shown a devotion to work in the cause of peace and progress in India which we Indians may well emulate. Your Chancellor will be the last Britisher to be dissociated from the conduct of civil affairs in India. His going marks a period of added responsibility on our part for wise self-governance.

The late American Ambassador's wife, Mrs. Grady, while taking the plane to join her husband some days ago, gave a farewell message, in the course of which she complimented Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and me as men who belonged to the world and not only to India. Mrs. Grady was not referring to our knowlege of world affairs for, whatever

may be the case with our Prime Minister, I cannot lay claim to any special or even a passable degree of equipment in that field. Mrs. Grady was referring, I take it, to our obligations at the present juncture in the world. Not only the Prime Minister and I, but every enlightened citizen of India must now rise to the full height not only of national citizenship but of world-citizenship. The world is watching India with goodwill. Our culture, our philosophy and our outlook on life have a new meaning and a new hope for the nations that have suffered and are suffering in the West. Our struggle against British Imperialism is over and, thank God, it has not ended on a note of bitterness but in complete goodwill and mutual understanding. Being citizens of a free country, we should now realise our mission as a nation and our place in world-civilization. We must fulfil the obligations that arise out of our place in Asia and our long and intimate connection with the West. We cannot escape world-citizenship and the particular Dharma which must appertain to India in that regard. By thinking of the world and of man as a whole, we shall purify and strengthen ourselves even in respect of internal problems and anxieties.

Freedom has assuredly given us a new status and new opportunities. But it also implies that we should discard selfishness, laziness and all narrowness of outlook. Our state of freedom implies toil and new values for old ones. We should so discipline ourselves as to be able to discharge our new responsibilities satisfactorily. If there is any one thing that needs to be stressed more than any other in the new set-up, it is that we should put into action our full capacity, each one of us, in productive effort—each one of us in his own sphere, however humble. Work, unceasing work, should now be our watchword. Work is wealth and service is happiness. Nothing else is. The greatest crime in India today is idleness. If we root out idleness, all our difficulties, including even conflicts, will gradually disappear. Whether as a constable or as a high official of the State, whether as a businessman or industrialist or artisan or farmer or peasant, all of us are discharging our obligation to the State and making a contribution to the welfare of the country. Honest work is the sheet-anchor to which if we cling we shall be saved in spite of every danger or difficulty. Honest work is the fundamental law of progress.

Next to honest work is the habit of respecting other people's feelings. It takes all sorts to make this world and the highest virtue of every citizen is to try to conduct himself so that a mode of life may be evolved by which people of

differing religious faiths, occupations and attainments who constitute our society may live together in peace and amity. The law of love is a practical code of life as our dear departed leader so strenuously sought to teach us. My confirmed opinion is that in India there is in fact no communal hatred. Greed and fear of defeat in economic competition produce what is mistaken for communal ill-feeling. There is abundant and abiding respect for all kinds of creeds, faiths and ways of life, but selfishness and personal ambitions of a poor variety produce conditions often mistaken for communal ill-will. It is not, therefore, a hopeless task to restore and maintain communal amity and goodwill all round.

Unfortunately certain events have led to the atmosphere being full of alarm and expectation of conflict. We do not desire conflict. But we may not be able to avoid it. All the same, we must do our best to prevent what is admittedly bad for everybody concerned and for the nation. In any case to be calm is the best preparation to face any difficulty. Excitement is the contrary of preparedness. I am convinced that there is really no hatred between Hindus and Muslims or between any other communities. There is neither hatred nor conflict of interests. There is misunderstanding, pride and consequent stupidity. The long-drawn-out controversies of the recent past cannot be put aside all at once. Hence all these misunderstandings, this pride and this stupidity. But basically there is, among widely differing creeds and races, far greater understanding of the fundamentals of human fellowship in India than probably anywhere else. This being so, my hope is not ill-founded that India will lead the way in demonstrating harmony in diversity and furnishing a striking example in human co-operation in the midst of seeming heterogeneity. Whatever may be the immediate troubles, I have no doubt that you who have now graduated will, in your life-time, see a happy India without ill-will, strenuously engaged in reconstruction. There is no need to despair, whatever be the colour of things at present.

To manage the affairs of an independent State, trained leadership is necessary. You have had training in that direction in some measure, for University education is nothing but a training for leadership. Numberless citizens are denied this privilege and it, therefore, becomes your sacred duty to regard your good fortune as a precious debt. In your daily conduct, in whatever walk of life you may be and under all conditions, you should remember your obligation of leadership and set an example to others how to think and

speak and how to act. The physical defence of a State is the special responsibility of the members of the Armed Forces. You are the moral and cultural army of India. Her progressive culture and contribution to world-civilization should be your concern. That the youth of today are the citizens of tomorrow is a true statement. But in a land that has just attained political freedom and whose citizens have to shoulder new responsibilities in every field of national activity, you young graduates should see in that oft-repeated statement a vital and most significant reality that concerns you intimately.

We have gone through a long and intense political struggle which involved great and unprecedented sacrifices. Many of us are engaged now in cashing our cheques on the bank of sacrifice with a feeling of self-righteous anger when delayed at the counter or asked to stand in a queue. All this is natural and it would be wrong to have expected that anything else could happen. Sacrifice had been sustained unbroken through two generations and it would be idle to expect those who suffered to stand down in self-abnegation when the illusions of power and position tempt. Admitting all this, enlightened men and women should ask themselves the question. "What is patriotism now?"

Graduates, on this great occasion in your life when you must be over-flowing with a sense of achievement and a degree of pride, an older person may offer a few words to you on our immediate future. Independence is a goal for which we worked and struggled for several years. But we must now overcome the habit of mental resistance and opposition which was our pattern of behaviour until now. We must forget all the disappointments and frustrations we have suffered. We must turn all our experiences now to positive ends.

The years immediately ahead when our freedom has to be consolidated must be years of strenuous work. We cannot take out of life more than we put into it ourselves. The new opportunities that present themselves in our country may seem to be opportunities for individual advancement but they are also, and perhaps more truly, opportunities for service to the country as a whole.

What is wanted is not competitive ambition but intense co-operation. The furtherance of the welfare of the people as a whole in constructive channels is the warp and woof of patriotism now. Melodramatic reiteration of past struggles and dwelling on episodes of suffering may feed our pride in a way but it is wholly irrelevant and is therefore

a waste of energy in the present context when what is wanted is speed of realization of civic duty and energetic positive effort in reconstruction.

A teacher from Kerala wrote to me a few days back suggesting that I should clarify some points in the course of this my address to you. He asked in his letter—(1) Should teachers and students be encouraged to take up active politics apart from academic studies? My answer has always been and I repeat it now, *NO!* Active party politics is inconsistent with fruitful student-life. (2) Should our schools and colleges be scenes of political battles and party squabbles? My answer is an emphatic *NO!* (3) Should strikes and satyagraha be recognized and encouraged in schools? My answer is again in the negative.

This takes me to my intention to share with the experienced educationists assembled here a few thoughts on education. There is a tendency in progressive political circles as well as among educationists to seek to make anything that is good and useful a compulsory part of youth's educational course. I should like to express on this occasion my doubts in respect of this tendency. The idea that education should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and erroneous. The limitations of time and immaturity should be kept in mind, and more time should be spent on evolving the capacity to acquire knowledge and to think aright than on substantial equipment straightway. The pressure of too many subjects is not a good thing for the young brain. On the other hand, it is only when the brain is young that the capacity to think aright can be developed and correct methods of work can be implanted. To give an example, I would point out that history cannot be understood by boys and girls who have not seen or experienced much of life and its problems. The brain is a machine which should be properly assembled and adjusted during youth. Once this is done, it will take care of itself and there is plenty of time for acquiring information in all branches. The stress during youth should be on training, on creating a habit of correct observation, of scientific curiosity, and of thinking aright and not on cramming the brain with information. The aim of education is that the pupil should acquire an automatic appreciation of values, moral and other. We do not desire to produce indoctrinated minds. That is not the democratic ideal. Totalitarians might wish to give a twist when the mind is young in a planned direction but our aim should be to produce a free and faithful intellectual and moral apparatus rather than give pre-planned twists.

Again, it should be remembered that what is made compulsory automatically induces a distaste. If you wish boys and girls to develop a permanent and unreasonable dislike of anything, make that subject a compulsory subject. If you wish that they may develop a willingness and a capacity to appreciate good literature such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, or Shakespeare, or the Bible, for God's sake, I would say to the educationists, do not make the study of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata or of Shakespeare or the Bible compulsory in the school. The lessons of both child psychology and human psychology are that mandatory and compulsory direction produces a contrary and rebellious tendency. The conditions for assimilation should be produced, and there should be no compulsion. Youth should be helped to choose good things for themselves rather than be forced and drilled.

Therefore I would suggest to educationists that less stress should be laid on examinations and more on opportunities for study and assimilation. The examination is the most bitter part of compulsion. It creates an incurable tendency towards superficiality and a paradoxical condition wherein a certain degree of equipment and dislike go together. It leaves in the successful candidate a distaste for further advance, once the examination is over. If in any field the standard of attainment is better in foreign universities than in India, it is not due to stiffer examinations or to superior talents. It is the result of greater voluntary exertion on the part of teachers and pupils born of love of the thing itself, and better facilities for study and research rather than of any stricter or better system of examinations and rejections. It is the result of a condition of things in which aptitude and love of subject rather than irrelevant ambitions and prospects of career and employment guide the students in their choice of studies.

There are two problems which are the cause of great worry to our educationists, the problem of religious and moral instruction in a land of many faiths and the problem arising out of multiplicity of languages. Taking up the education of children, we see that they should be trained to love one another, to be kindly and helpful to all, to be tender to the lower animals and to observe and think aright. The task of teaching them how to read and write and to count and calculate is important, but it should not make us lose sight of the primary aim of moulding personality in the right way. For this it is necessary to call into aid culture, tradition and religion. But in our country we have to look after,

in the same school, boys and girls born in different faiths and who belong to families that live diverse ways of life and follow forms of worship associated with different denominations of religion. It will not do to follow the easy path of evading the challenge by attending solely to physical culture and intellectual education. We have to evolve a suitable technique and method for serving the spiritual needs of children through many religions in the same school. We would thereby cultivate an atmosphere of mutual respect, a fuller understanding and helpful co-operation among all the different communities in our society. India is not like other smaller countries with a single language and a single faith. We have a multiplicity of languages and faith but are yet one and must remain one people. We have therefore to give basic training in our schools to speak and understand many languages and to understand and respect the different religions prevailing in India. It is not right for us in India to be dissuaded from this on account of considerations as to over-taxing the young mind. What is necessary must be done. And it is not in fact too great a burden.

Any attempt to do away with or steam-roll the differences through governmental coercion and indirect pressure would be as futile as it would be unwise. Any imposition of a single way of life and form of worship on all children, or neglect of a section of the pupils in this respect, or barren secularisation will lead to a conflict between school and home life in the pupils concerned, which is harmful. On the other hand, if we give due recognition to several prevailing faiths in the educational institutions and organise suitable facilities for boys and girls of all faiths, it may itself serve as a broadening influence of great national value.

As for language, it is no good trying to impose a medium of instruction on young pupils which is not their mother-tongue. In the past, parents preferred their children to undergo the disadvantages of the English medium because, as against the drawbacks of a foreign medium, the advantages in life of superficially anglicised culture were great. They deliberately allowed their children to learn language through subjects rather than subjects through language, because facility in the use of the English language helped one very largely and covered many defects. These advantages must now soon disappear and the drawbacks in using a foreign medium will be more and more obvious as we go on. Nothing is gained by depriving young boys and girls of the advantage of the mother-tongue or some language near to it. In regions where more

than one language is spoken I see no other way but one, namely, to form sections in the mixed schools according to language. For certain purposes they may sit together so that the advantages of both mixing and separate attention may be retained. Provided we solve the problems with understanding and patience, the very difficulties which we first deplore often prove in the end to be of the greatest value for progress. What was pain and trouble becomes a source of enlightenment and joy.

I am grateful to the Chancellor and the fellows of the University for conferring on me the highest honour in their gift. I hope I shall ever remain worthy of the degree conferred on me today by being in all matters true to the spirit of law, which is higher than the codes that embody it in various aspects. By accepting this degree, I have, so to say, gone through a ceremony of closer identification with the young friends who have received degrees at this Convocation.

Graduates, I congratulate you on your having taken your degrees. I have told you enough about the sacred duties that fall on you by reason of these degrees. Let your minds be responsible and affectionate. These are the two qualities that best adorn citizenship. Daily and earnest prayer and honest effort will enable one to acquire these two great qualities, a sense of responsibility and an affectionate temperament. If our youth attain these qualities, India will be happy and great. External courtesies will help the growth of corresponding internal feeling. Restraint in behaviour and consideration for the feelings of others are what distinguish a man of culture. Be patient and kind always. Do not give way to jealousy or the desire to boast. Be not rude. Do not always insist on your own way. Do not allow yourself to be irritated or be resentful. Do not rejoice at wrong. Rejoice in the right. Try to bear misfortunes bravely. Show trust in others and have faith that love will prevail. This is what Paul said. This is what Gandhi said. May God bless you.

INDUSTRIAL COLONY FOR DISCHARGED T.B. PATIENTS.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the ceremony of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Industrial Colony for discharged T.B. patients at Tambaram, Madras, on August 25, 1948 :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

My pleasure at being among you is somewhat marred by a feeling that the efforts to relieve human distress arising

out of disease are so infinitesimal while the need is so great. I have been given an easy function to perform, namely, to pretend to lay the foundation-stone when all that work has been done by other people. We carry ourselves through life with a series of acts of self-deception like this and we all feel very happy. When I heard Dr. Vasudeva Rao's account of the work, I realised how much of hard toil is necessary before anything can be achieved. Meanwhile, the enemy is also active and the disease is spreading. With great difficulty we are striving to do something. This must go on until our conditions of life are generally improved.

When I was listening to the Surgeon-General's story and to all that Dr. Vasudeva Rao was saying, I was depressed more and more at the thought that men's efforts to struggle against disease seem so utterly disproportionate to the task and may even be described as vain. Of what avail are 25 or even 100 beds, when we consider the number of people who require this help? Not all the efforts of eminent men and women including doctors can cope with the requirements of the case, having regard to the population we have in India. However, we cannot throw up our hands in despair and say: "We shall do nothing because we have not achieved much". We must struggle and go on. Even if we do not eradicate tuberculosis from India, let us at least keep alive charity in our hearts.

It is wrong to despair and become, so to say, cruel by choice. It is better that we struggle and keep alive the feeling of brotherhood, charity and sympathy for all those who suffer. I have had a friendly tussle with Lady Nye over this matter. I was trying to put before her the case of nature and I was trying to show to her that we must spend more money on healthy people than on the sick. I do not think I need keep it a secret from you that I incurred her wrath. I was trying to tell her what I felt, namely, that our struggle against nature is bound to fail and that if we were wise and cold-blooded, we ought to spend more on the fit than in vain efforts at posing as benefactors of the unfit. I tried to prove the doctrine of cruelty, if I may so call it. But I know I was wrong and I have tried to make my confession in my own way. I hope she will forgive me and see that I am not so hard-hearted as I appear to be.

But the truth must not be hidden from us. Do what we might, we can only stem the tide of nature to a very small extent. It pays in the long run for humanity to spend more of our energy on serving the best available

material, without inflicting cruelty on those who, for no fault of theirs, have suffered.

Look at the amount of work Lady Nye has done in this matter. Wives of officials, small and big, should not imagine that they have only a share in the salary and no share in the obligations of their husbands. The Governor of Madras has come from a distant place. He has no natural obligation to slave for our people. We used to think that it gave them pleasure to serve in our country in high positions. We have also seen the great phenomenon of how, with very great pleasure, they ceased to hold office. Marvellous examples of detachment have been placed before us in actual life for us to study in the conduct of those high and big British officials who laid down their position of power and authority with the same pleasure as when they took up that power and authority. That is really what is called detachment and what is called *yoga* in Bhagavat Gita. I do not think all the Samskrit scholars in India who talked the language of *yoga* really practised *yoga* as British officials have done in fact. It is not the transference of power that will ultimately benefit us; but the example of their conduct. If you seize any power, serve as a servant while you have that power and lay down that power when you are asked to do so with the same joy as that which the power gave you when you enjoyed it.

Now our wives are certainly reaping the advantage of their husbands' talents and occupations and sharing in full measure the salaries with them. There was no obligation on the part of wives of Governors and Governors-General to do any part of the work. If they had just exercised authority in the household and spent the money earned by their husbands wisely and well, nobody could have complained. But every British high official's wife somehow felt it her duty to work in a manner which supplemented her husband's work and harmonised with the tasks allotted to the position that they enjoyed. Everyone of them has done honorary social service in a manner which extorted our admiration. They have not put less zeal into any of their honorary work than their husbands in their stipendiary work.

We have hitherto regarded the manner in which people went about collecting money for social service as oppressive, complaining that they utilised their official position to collect money. Do not change the practice and begin saying that the wife of a Government official should not do social service but should remain a private individual. I do not think we should be ashamed to change our views in the matter of

collecting money freely and spending that money for the good of the people. The money is not going to be misappropriated, or used for bad purposes. It is going to be used for causes like the one we have sponsored today. It is not a bad cause. You will have to be very careful and gentlemanly and above all do the work with love in your heart. You do not know the private life of all people. You may imagine a man to be rich, but he may really be poor. You may imagine a man to be well off, but he may be only hiding his troubles from the public.

Now we have found an extraordinary way of collecting money by catching hold of a talented artiste and compelling her to entertain the public and make people give money for good causes, as if they paid money only to enjoy the music or dancing. I very much admire the skill of this process. It is very nice to deceive a man out of his money in this manner. But I will ask you not to overdo it. If you overdo it, a distaste will be created and the beauty of the music will be lost, because people will all the time be feeling bitter in their minds that they have to pay Rs. 50 for a music performance they could have had for Rs. 10.

Even this business of laying foundation-stones can be overdone. Do not always ask only people occupying high positions to lay the foundation-stone. Now and then, ask a good man who has no authority or high official position to lay it. Such a change will be a blessing for the organisation concerned. I do not remember if I was asked to lay a foundation-stone before I became Governor-General. I was quite worthy even before. What I have done today is not the laying of the foundation-stone. We seem to lose the meaning of words. I merely put a slab with my name on it explaining what has been done. The real foundation-stone was laid by Lady Nye. Why is it her name is not inscribed there? Why should my name alone be there? Her name may be forgotten in Madras but not the name of Rajagopalachari for very good reasons and very bad reasons also. It is more necessary for us to remember Lady Nye's services. She came from abroad and on the whole she has been treated badly by the people who are sending her away. But luckily she will be in Delhi. She will not be let off so easily. I promise we will work together very heartily. She and I have no official position of any importance. She will be the wife of the United Kingdom Commissioner and I will be only a Governor-General. I will have to sign everything

that has been decided upon, good or bad. It is called 'advice'.

This colony cannot be self-supporting unless the people purchased articles made by the inmates. Any article produced in an industrial institute was bound to cost more than a similar article produced elsewhere. Therefore the product should be regarded as an emblem of human charity and fellowship. An article produced there can not compete with the free market by being priced the same as a similar article produced elsewhere. It has to be priced higher and the name of the institution that produced it should make people buy it by paying more in order that this institution may be made self-supporting.

FAREWELL MESSAGE TO TAMIL NAD.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following farewell broadcast message to Tamil Nad from the Madras Station of All-India Radio, on August 25, 1948 :—

FRIENDS,—

We have lived to see the day when some of our own people have come to occupy positions of great power and have won the esteem and regard of not only our own countrymen but of the people the world over. The people of Tamil Nad share the happiness through the position I happen to occupy. Though this is a matter for rejoicing, there is another that should give us far greater happiness. I must see it in my own life-time. Without allowing differences of caste, creed or religion to breed ill-will amongst us, we must learn to forgive the shortcomings in others, grow to love and stand by each other, and contribute to mutual happiness.

The purpose of life is attainment of divine bliss. Hatred can do no good. In a free country, though high offices have necessarily to be occupied by a few, really they belong to all. In the years of our servitude, our respect for Government was due to fear. With the attainment of freedom, we must continue to respect the Government and support it out of love for it and out of consideration for public good. We must give no quarter to those who disturb the common weal. Without fear or favour, they should be taken out and reformed.

I have spent three happy days in South India, and I am grateful to you all for the happiness you have given me.

AT THE SOUTHERN INDIA JOURNALISTS FEDERATION.

Speaking at the Southern India Journalists Federation on August 26, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

FRIENDS,—

I must confess I had expected something very different from what I see now. I had thought I would come and mix freely with old friends who really have been my colleagues and friends for a long time. I thought it would be a friendly gathering but I find it is altogether too formal and has become a repetition of the many functions where I have had to speak during the last few days. But with the hang-over of serious journalism this meeting too suffers as a result. If Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar had decided to put aside all old fashions, I would have been on the same floor with the rest of you, moved about, understood you, breathed the air of affection and gone back with pleasant memories.

Now you have put me very serious questions which, however, I propose to answer, although I have had little time to think about them. I am sorry to say that I cannot accept the compliment or the charge that you make that I am an incipient journalist and take every occasion to find satisfaction in that direction. I thought I was a very poor journalist because I spoke my mind whenever I wrote and did not try to know beforehand what people would like. I do not believe that a journalist can flourish if he proceeds in this manner.

You ask me to help you to get the great owners of the papers—the Press—to deal with those who work under them more sympathetically. I do not believe that either the Government or the Governor-General will succeed better in this than in dealing with other employers. I do not know if owners of the Press will listen to Government more than others have done. It is a question of conflict of economic interests to some extent but largely a question of patience and mutual understanding.

I am surprised that you call journalism an industry. Before you came to that part of your address, I was thinking of telling you that the way out of all difficulties is to treat everything as an effort in making the world more beautiful. That is to say, I want you to look upon journalism as an art and not as an industry. If all of you, working journalists, will treat your vocation more as an art

than as an industry, then all will be well. Journalists are like painters and poets rather than factory workers. They are really doing works of art. When you, journalists, write an article, when you write a leading article or even when you present an item of news, you are doing a work of art.

Hitherto journalism was too much associated with politics. You thought that you were only an expanded Legislative Assembly, and went on advising, opposing, consulting and debating. I think that is a wrong way to look at journalism now. Now that we have no problem of foreign domination, we must reduce journalism—or rather raise it, to the level of an art. Does a poet ask the Government to intervene between himself and the publishers? Can a painter ask the Government to help him to get better prices for his pictures? Works of art cannot flourish that way. Although I have refused your kind compliment, I think I know enough of the life of journalists to feel that I am giving good advice. Whatever may be your difficulties, whatever your internal pains and travails, do look upon what you produce as productive, creative art, and then all will be well. Write good books, make good poems, make good pictures and also write good articles and make good newspapers—all will then be well. If you ask me to argue the point, I may not be able to do it within the time given me, or even if you give me more time. But if you take my advice and practise it, I think you will find that all will be well.

We are old friends. There is no reason for me to imagine that I am cleverer than any of you. All of you have dealt with the same subjects as I have. All of you have nearly as much experience as I have had, according to the time you have given to them.

As for wrangling and arguing policies, I think our newspapers must throw off the old hang-over of imagining that they are just expanded legislative assemblies. Launch out on everything in life and bring out things of beauty in order that life may be enriched in our country. Journalism is only one of the many arts which enrich life and by continuing in the old style we are not likely to be very useful. I am talking as one of you. You have rightly complained of the hang-over of the Government's attitude. I think it will not last very long, even if your accusation is correct. But let us always think of the beam in our own eyes before we speak of the mote in other people's eyes. I am not giving that in the exact proportion perhaps; but that is the old saying and I repeat it. Let

us see whether we also do not suffer from old habits. I have just pointed out one.

Do not write about politics and politics alone. One of you, who is a very intimate friend of mine, consulted me once as to what he should do and I told him, "Deal with the administration rather than with the Ministers". He accepted my advice for a couple of days and then reverted to the Ministers. He was not able to stick to the enemy—the administration—but went back to "the Ministers". Old habits are difficult to throw off, although my old friends seem to think that it is easy to stop drink all over the province straightway! Whether we succeed or not, there is no harm in trying. All good things must be taken up and we must put all our efforts into it. Governments, politicians as well as journalists, all have a way of sticking to old habits. We will have to get over it.

We are now a free country. We have now great opportunities and the Press and the Government should get on together and help one another. The Press must meet the Government more often and the Government must make it easier for the Press to meet it. I do not boast but go to Calcutta and ask the newspapers whether I did not try my best to make them meet me. I found it was very successful. I found no difficulty in understanding them nor they in understanding me. We are all made of the same clay and we only work in different departments. I am sure representatives of the Government of Madras who are here with me will be only very glad to meet you and talk to you. They must only be sure that you will not let them down! I think that nobody will let any other person down in Free India. Those days are gone. We would not gain by letting one another down. We are all so much together that if we let one another down, the whole boat will sink and none of us will gain. This is a time when we should realise that we are all co-partners in one business and it is a terrible waste to deceive one another or to be unfair to one another. The most economical way of dealing with our affairs now and hereafter is to be fair to one another.

The problem then arises as to who is to begin. That is the eternal problem in life. When two people quarrel, who is to begin is the eternal problem that prevents the two coming together quickly. I advise you, gentlemen of the Press, you are the cleverer of the two and, therefore, you must begin. The Government is elected on the basis of democracy; journalists are there on the basis of voluntary

choice. I take it, you are the cleverer of the two and the cleverer men must take the first step whenever there is a quarrel. I want you to organise parties and invite members of the Government to discuss problems. Take the initiative yourselves; I have always found it successful. If you extend your hand first, the shake will be the warmer on the other side. If you wait till the other man extends his hand, it is all a question of fear and trembling. I want you therefore to take the first step.

In Free India, we shall get the sort of freedom that we deserve. All the time we have been wrangling with one another and for some time longer, this will go on. We now have only the flower of Swaraj. We have not yet got the fruit and hence the trouble. If one is anxious to have the flowers and smell their fragrance it would be some time before we can have the fruits. Flowers must become fruit and give joy. When that happens, there will be sweetness in the atmosphere. Till then, you will have troubles. Do not get excited over them. I am very grateful to you all.

LAXMINARAYAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Laxminarayan Institute of Technology, Nagpur on August 26, 1948 :—

MR. CHANCELLOR, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN AND LAST BUT NOT LEAST MY YOUNG FRIENDS,—

I wish I had the eloquence which your Vice-Chancellor commanded. I wish I had the courage which your representative sister commanded. I do not believe that when I was so young as that girl I could have faced such a vast gathering of exhilarated, potentially mischievous, material as the one ranged before me. I am amazed at the courage of your sister, my dear boys. Would you dare to think that one of you could come up and talk as she did in spite of all the possible shouts that you could raise? The first thing therefore I should do is to warn boys to be prepared against this competition of the girls. Not only have girls as much brain matter as you have, but they have been displaying in their studies a concentration which boys have not been displaying. I am not stating merely a theoretical proposition. I have been watching results in various institutions and the curve of success is going in favour of the girls, let me tell

you. Mother India wants hard-working good boys and good girls, character being the gold out of which everything else is made. If we have no character, I tell you, this freedom that we are all acclaiming would be burnt up like waste paper.

It is only if we have character that freedom will produce happiness for the millions of our country. Character is not merely a copy-book ideal. It is the wisest national policy that can be conceived by any statesman. It is only if we have character that all things will work. Otherwise, not only freedom, education and the universities but the whole constitution will be mere waste paper. Hence the emphasis on character that has to be formed by the best type. I welcome the growing number of girls in schools and colleges because it means that the schools and colleges are carried bodily into families. We will not need to multiply universities if only our mothers are all university products. Then every home will in itself be a university. All boys and girls that have to be looked after will be looked after from the earliest stages in the home by a worthy Principal, namely the mother of the family. Do you then doubt the evaluation I make that every girl graduate is worth five boy graduates taking the average of a family to be five?

It is only in our country that ten lakhs of people can congregate in a small area round a temple and finish a festival without accident. In other places, gatherings such as this will be possible only with organisations for preservation of order. Our culture is so ancient and so well established that we can ordinarily have the most difficult congregations without any special arrangements for preservation of order. I had feared that there was a deterioration in this matter in our country in recent times and when I saw so vast a crowd in this place, I was a little doubtful whether you would maintain sufficient silence and discipline to let me complete my task of thanking you for all this affection you have bestowed upon me.

We are in very serious times, because we are free. If we had not got freedom, the task would have been less serious. In the old days, our task was only to fight to wrest freedom, enthuse one another and carry on the work. That was easy as we know, but now that we have freedom and the entire burden of the future structure of our country is on our own shoulders, we must be as true in our conduct and thoughts as a brick that supports a building is true.

We can deceive one another but can we deceive dynamics? Can we deceive the laws of nature? If bricks are not true and good and if they are not laid properly, the building will tumble down, whatever may be the engineer's words or promises. In the national structure we are dealing with, deception has no place. Unless we are very strenuous in our conduct and honest in our minds, we cannot make a glorious India. Whatever may be the policies and tactics of statesmanship, whatever may be the science of politics and application of politics, whatever may be the organisation of Government, ultimately, if we wish to make India not only free but glorious, as was the hope of those who fought for freedom, we will have to work very hard and you will all have to be thoroughly honest.

Is it difficult to be straightforward? If anybody has any doubts about it, all that we work for would be vanity. Unless we make up our minds that it is easy to be straightforward, easy to bear the troubles that arise out of straightforwardness and overcome them, the glory that our country deserves cannot be built. We are not a small State like some of the States in Europe or anywhere else in the world. We are not a new State with no tradition or culture to look up to. We are a great, big country. Even after partition we are a great big country and we are a very ancient people with literature and culture which if we could sell to any other nation, they would sell their whole empire to buy. We have to work hard and live up to that tradition and culture. Therefore, friends, take what I say very seriously. It is easy to be straightforward. Difficulties that arise in life can always be overcome. Even if you fail, it will still add to your glory. Therefore, let us make up our minds that we shall in no matter swerve from the path of rectitude. In the first few years of Free India, whatever be the work that comes to you, that is your Godsent job and you must do that work. We must all resolve that during this period, when we are laying the glorious foundation of Free India, there is no time for wrangling or competitive ambitions. It is time for everyone to seize whatever work he can find and do it as well as he can and do it all the twenty-four hours. This is the time when we must do double shift, night and day, and build India quickly.

I am old and I wish to see glorious India before I die. It is only young men and women like you who can guide the nation and guide it in the right direction. You are the leaders of India. A country with 350 millions requires many, many leaders. Leaders are not only those whose faces appear in the newspapers. He who guides

people round him in his village or town or home is also a leader and he should be a leader worthy of future India.

Therefore the Universities are here. Universities are the hopes of our national leaders. Our Government hope that the Universities will produce rapidly, year after year, thousands and thousands of leaders to guide people aright in honesty and work throughout the country. Then all will be well. India will grow, not like a structure, but like a tree. India will grow like a natural organic body if only you are true to yourselves.

WOMEN'S MEETING AT NAGPUR.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Joint Women's Meeting at the Convocation Hall, Nagpur on August 27, 1948 :—

SISTERS,—

I am glad that so many sisters have gathered to give me welcome and to assure me that the women of India are alert and anxious to add to the labours of their brothers to make India glorious. In Nagpur, as in other parts of Maharashtra, I see women are as patriotic, courageous and keen about their country as the men. The first place that the sisters of Maharashtra take in modern Indian progress will, I hope, be kept up. Advancement goes up in geometric progression. Your own progress makes other people progress fast. The educated girl in Maharashtra has courage and self-possession which educated girls of other provinces do not yet possess. Complete absence of self-consciousness is a great virtue and is very necessary for public work. Develop this temperament as an unconscious automatic habit from early life.

I am very grateful for all that you have said. There are so many issues raised in the written address and so many issues indicated in the spoken address. These things are true and proper subjects for my Government and our Legislative Assembly, not for the Governor-General. You can place your demands before my Government, and they will attend to them. I want you all, irrespective of creed or community, to help to establish goodwill among the communities in India. Men have quarrelled and have ruined the country. Women alone can save the country by undoing all the wrongs that have been done by men during the last few months. You have no hatred towards one another. If among you, you create a feeling of sisterhood, men will automatically become friends. To whatever class or community you may belong, keep your hearts pure and not

allow hatred to be lodged there. Keep goodwill afresh. Work actively to create and increase this goodwill in other people's hearts also. Trifling though it be, our daily behaviour has a great effect on cultivating goodwill. Do not neglect little acts of courtesy. If all of you will exert yourselves for a few months to re-establish goodwill in India, everything else will follow. This is your particular work.

Nothing will come right in the evolution of the world unless you work hard in positive service to the State. Let all women restore goodwill in India by determined work. Equality of rights will come to you like a ripe fruit without your asking for it. Women have served India during the last few years nobly and that is why they have now risen to the extent that they have. Have not women risen to a level higher than they were, say, in 1920? How did they attain this? During these 25 years, women have served and suffered alongside of men, and put in hard work in equal measure with men. So they have automatically risen to the level to which they have now risen. During the next few months or years, your work will bring you equality whether men pass their codes or not. I do not object to any measure that you want. You may change all the codes. But our temperament and our national culture will still govern everything. That is the unchangeable law. Therefore, ultimately, what we have to change is not laws but the culture of the country for the better. Men must learn to respect women and not to treat them as born slaves. Man must be taught to have consideration for his wife. With all due respect to the legislators—and I have been one of them—these things are not changed by laws but by culture and education, and we must attend to that. That is why I ask you to be teachers. Nothing else will save womanhood except having women teachers everywhere. Fight as strongly as you can that women should become teachers of boys also. There is no reason why you should not monopolise that work, because the mother is the most fitted to teach. I do not believe in the notion that in boys' schools, men must be the teachers and in girls' schools women. Women should be teachers in all schools—boys' as well as girls'. Then culture will change rapidly and education will progress and all rights will come.

Thank you very much for the beautiful reception you have given me. Maharashtra, it is well-known throughout India, has been taking first place in women's progress. Keep that going.

AT SEWAGRAM.

Addressing a meeting of constructive workers at Mahadev Bhavan, Sewagram, on August 27, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

FRIENDS,—

It is usual to say at gatherings such as this that one feels very glad to be with one's friends. But it is difficult for me to say so today. This is the first time I have come here after Mahatmaji's death. According to our custom, we cannot celebrate a wedding along with a funeral. A similar difficulty presents itself to me. I am very glad to see you all, but I have been overwhelmed by sorrow since my visit to Bapu's cottage this morning. We must try to help one another, whatever may be the difficulties. To those who are young, this place is a place of work. They can forget their sorrow in work using all their energy to learn and to do things. But for one like me who is not young, it is difficult to forget. That is why I am unable to carry on with you now. It is a very good thing that one of us, a common man, has been appointed Head of the State. It is a joy not because I am appointed to it but because an ordinary man has been appointed to it. That is why all ordinary men find great exhilaration in the position that I occupy. Here you have to carry on without the source of energy which helped you all these days. Bapu has left behind him many loyal servants who have survived him and who will help you. You are now in the position of orphans, but you have some good trustees to look after you. If you have faith in God, all will go well. I do not think that you need depend on men if you depend on God. It is believed by our people that, when a man dies with desires unsatisfied, his spirit will hover over the place where he was living and working. The spirit will have no peace until the desire is fulfilled. Although Bapu had given up most desires and attachments, he did not give up attachment to the people of this country and the desire that we should all be industrious and good. This desire was an imperfection in his complete detachment, and that imperfection will keep his spirit hovering over your charkha, over your hospital, over your beds, and over everything else. All the ten institutions that are gathered here will have his agitated spirit hovering over them until you satisfy his desire. There is no use praying for peace to his soul unless we fulfil this desire. Whenever we do our work well, we give him a little peace.

allow hatred to be lodged there. Keep goodwill afresh. Work actively to create and increase this goodwill in other people's hearts also. Trifling though it be, our daily behaviour has a great effect on cultivating goodwill. Do not neglect little acts of courtesy. If all of you will exert yourselves for a few months to re-establish goodwill in India, everything else will follow. This is your particular work.

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Addressing a meeting of constructive workers at Mahadev Bhavan, Sewagram, on August 27, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

FRIENDS,—

It is usual to say at gatherings such as this that one feels very glad to be with one's friends. But it is difficult for me to say so today. This is the first time I have come here after Mahatma's death. According to our custom, we cannot celebrate a wedding along with a funeral. A similar difficulty presents itself to me. I am very glad to see you all, but I have been overwhelmed by sorrow since my visit to Bapu's cottage this morning. We must try to help one another, whatever may be the difficulties. To those who are young, this place is a place of work. They can forget their sorrow in work using all their energy to learn and to do things. But for one like me who is not young, it is difficult to forget. That is why I am unable to carry on with you now. It is a very good thing that one of us, a common man, has been appointed Head of the State. It is a joy not because I am appointed to it but because an ordinary man has been appointed to it. That is why all ordinary men find great exhilaration in the position that I occupy. Here you have to carry on without the source of energy which helped you all these days. Bapu has left behind him many loyal servants who have survived him and who will help you. You are now in the position of orphans, but you have some good trustees to look after you. If you have faith in God, all will go well. I do not think that you need depend on men if you depend on God. It is believed by our people that, when a man dies with desires unsatisfied, his spirit will hover over the place where he was living and working. The spirit will have no peace until the desire is fulfilled. Although Bapu had given up most desires and attachments, he did not give up attachment to the people of this country and the desire that we should all be industrious and good. This desire was an imperfection in his complete detachment, and that imperfection will keep his spirit hovering over your charkha, over your hospital, over your beds, and over everything else. All the ten institutions that are gathered here will have his agitated spirit hovering over them until you satisfy his desire. There is no use praying for peace to his soul unless we fulfil this desire. Whenever we do our work well, we give him a little peace.

When we do something wrong, his spirit rolls down the mountain of peace and will have to work up again. If therefore we love Bapu, we must do everything properly. The country will benefit by it and Bapu's soul will be at peace.

I am very sorry that I am not able to say more. I hope that you will keep this place as pure as it was when Bapu was here. After his death this place has become more sacred to millions in the world. Not only the people of India, but the people of the whole world will look upon this as a place of pilgrimage and they will come. It is not the place where his body was burnt or the place where he was killed that will attract people. It is the place where he worked that will be the centre of attraction of devoted people throughout the world. Therefore all people will come here and it will be the duty of all people—men, women and children—to keep the place as beautiful as a *Tulsi* plant. It is not necessary to build beautiful structures here. The whole place should be kept as it was when Bapu lived, but should be kept pure and beautiful. We should keep the place pure by keeping our conduct and character pure. This is my earnest request to you all and I hope all of you, boys, girls and grown-up people, will remember what I have said. Thank you very much. Give me your best wishes.

RECEPTION AT NAGPUR.

Replying to the reception accorded by the citizens of Maharajbagh, Nagpur, on August 27, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am very sorry I have not been as lucky here as I have been in other places in regard to the weather. That in spite of many inconveniences, you have gathered in this cheerful manner, expresses your affection even more clearly than it would have been in a well-decorated *shamiana*. I am very grateful for all the kind things contained in your address. I hope I shall deserve your compliments by showing something achieved while I am in office. All that can possibly be achieved will be done, I have no doubt, by my colleagues in the Government. Whatever may be the apprehensions and the scepticism of the people, this Government, which is now in charge, is a Government that has got cent. per cent. earnestness of purpose. Theirs is a record of sacrifice,

patriotism and courage which cannot be doubted. Whatever may be the defects in their achievement, they are entirely due to unavoidable circumstances. Therefore I think you may rest assured that we have in them reliable guardians of the people's welfare. If God extends his grace to us, everything will be all right in spite of seeming difficulties.

To those who thought deeply, it was obvious that freedom in India meant many difficulties. Nobody imagined it would be like a ripe fruit plucked from the tree ready to be enjoyed. All wise people knew there would be considerable difficulties and that solid work would have to be put forth to achieve happiness. The actual difficulties we have had to face have been much larger in magnitude, more unexpected and more numerous than we had been prepared for. Even so, our Government has faced up to them much more satisfactorily than statesmen all the world over had hoped.

To the long list of items of importance cited by the Chairman of this Committee, may I add one—it was in Nagpur that the Congress in 1920 set its seal to the constitution, and all that we have done in politics may be traced to the organisation then founded. I remember like yesterday the vivid scenes at that meeting 28 years ago. Many who had participated in the deliberations of this Congress have passed away, not to mention the greatest loss of all that happened on January 30th this year. Where is Shaukat Ali? Where is Mahomed Ali? and where are all the others? I can give you many dear names who were in that Congress and who laid the foundations for the freedom struggle at Nagpur. Many have gone and many have been born, many whose patriotism does not fall below the level of the old veterans but who have not that live intimacy with the history of the movement which some of us have.

The younger people naturally believe that patriotism begins with their own consciousness—all boys and girls must feel like that. What they hear about the achievements and the work and sacrifice of other people is only hearsay. I was speaking to young men yesterday and warned them against being lost in mere exhilaration and I reminded them of the duty before us now. Older people do not need to be told all this. They know how hard achievement in any direction is. Therefore, those who have

gathered here, I feel, do not require any words from me on this occasion.

They know how hard the task was. They also know how hard the task is going to be. The two tasks are different. That to be done hereafter is not less difficult than the one that we have finished. The one was a fight against Britain and against people's temperament and character. The fight now before us is against our own defects, either of laziness or want of capacity to work together. The defects we have to fight against hereafter are quite as great and tough as those against which our fight has concluded. Being our own defects, mere public agitation cannot do much service.

Other people's defects may be removed by public agitation either on the platform or in the press. But public agitation about our own defects even if it were possible, will not produce much good. Agitation cannot produce a change in character. When we talk publicly of defects of character in ourselves, we always mean somebody else's defects. When I get up on the platform and say we are wanting in commercial morality, I mean every other man but myself. Everyone who speaks attacks somebody else's defects. It is only when a man begins to think of himself and when men are, by the grace of God, induced to think about themselves, that reformation comes about.

You know how the European nations fought. When war came, there was a change in the character of many of the nations. It came from inside, not by public agitation. Here also we have to come by it through some good fortune. I do not know what will produce it except the grace of God. I am sure of this, that if we do not improve, we shall continue to be unfortunate. Just like the idle peasant who does not take advantage of the rain and plough the land or does not take advantage of the sun and do the reaping, if we do not take advantage of it in a real sense but try to deceive one another when the sun of freedom is shining, there will be nothing but loss and damage to the nation as a whole.

If we continue like that, no good will come out of it. So also in relation to labour. We think all that we have to do is to get more and more out of the wage-earner. We do not think there is any relation between welfare and production. The wage-earner thinks that he is only a slave to be driven by the employer. But there is no welfare possible

unless there is wealth in the country and there can be no wealth in the country unless we produce. Every man blames everyone else but himself. I count on God's grace I hope and pray that something may happen by a miracle to change the temperament of our people.

The compelling reason in my plan to stop at Nagpur was to make a pilgrimage to where Gandhiji lived and worked I have just returned from that visit. I have not been able to collect myself after the shock that I received when I went into that empty room where Gandhiji lived and worked for many years.

I thank you for all your affection, and may your affection be a symptom of your solid determination to stand by the country in every possible way. Let there be no dissension. Nothing can come out of dissension Let us compete with one another when we are prosperous. But this is not the time for any kind of mutual dissension. Whatever comes our way should be deemed our allotted task and we must do it to the best of our capacity. This is a time when everyone must be in a hurry to scramble for work. Each one must do some good turn, and the country must be made to feel that we are all working. Let there be no dissension

Let us forget creeds, castes and such other things. We are a very ancient people. When we were not free and were engaged in the struggle for freedom, we were carrying on so well. We respected one another. We had consideration for one another. We used to work together very well. Things of very heterogeneous character were kept together as if by magic. What a shame it would be now if, when we are free, we do not make an effort and maintain, if not the whole, at least a large part of that mutual consideration and capacity to work together. The very chapter that will record our freedom will record this great failure as a terrible shame.

I have no magic by which I can make a change in the state of affairs. I am a humble man who can only tell you the truth. Let us be honest and straightforward. We should remember that our duty in this generation is to save India from shame. I do not want to have anything more positive than that. It would be a terrible shame if we do not have order and peace in the country before the next few months. I hope Nagpur and the Central Provinces will play a great part.

NAGPUR HARIJAN LEAGUE.

In reply to an Address of Welcome presented by the Harijan League, Nagpur on August 27, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you very heartily for your welcome. Your welcome speech was to the point, and covered all that had to be said. We have each one of us to give all the help and co-operation we can to raise the prestige and glory of our free country. For some years now to come, we must concentrate on this. All other things must be put aside. Individual competition must be put aside. We have bought the land: we must first build the house. Mere land will not be of any use unless we build on it. In the same way freedom is of no use unless we build on it. We must build the house for which purpose we bought the land. That is the position in India now, and I am very glad that you have, on behalf of your community in the Central Provinces, resolved to do the work which the nation requires. I want to give you this assurance, that you will be treated as brothers and as fellow-citizens in India hereafter, and you need have no doubts about it.

The era of inferiority as regards your community is over. Gandhiji's work in other respects may still be imperfect, but so far as your question is concerned, what has been done cannot be undone by anybody. You may not all be happy because happiness requires many other things besides equality. *Barabari* has been got and it cannot be lost again. *Kushi* waits for God's grace and for human nature.

It is very difficult to pay back an old and heavy debt. Do not be disappointed because the repayment has been slow. A man's own debt may be paid quickly, but if we have to pay all our grandfathers' and great-grandfathers' debt, it takes time. That is exactly the situation in regard to the justice to be done to your people. Do not allow your hearts to grow bitter over trifles. *Bharat Matha* has got you back as equal sons. You need not worry about smaller matters. Do not get discouraged because Gandhiji is dead. So far as you are concerned, his work was completed. My best wishes to you.

AT THE NAGPUR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the dinner given by the Chamber of Commerce, Nagpur, on August 27, 1948 :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, SETH GOPALDAS MEHTA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am deeply grateful to you, Mr. President, and to your colleagues for arranging this banquet and inviting so many distinguished citizens to honour me and to mark this visit of mine. I am extremely pleased that you do not expect me to answer questions. You have very carefully and properly kept out not only controversial issues, but even your anxieties and difficulties in business. You have not referred to what a gathering of your fellow members in commerce generally may be expected to refer to, namely, present-day difficulties in business, anxieties, and the like. Either you have no anxieties whatsoever—which is quite possible—or you very rightly guess that I would not be able to satisfy any of your difficulties here!

Whether you have referred to them or not, let me assure you that the Government is very keen that industry, commerce and trade should grow more and more. The present conditions in the country create a certain amount of uncertainty in people's minds and that uncertainty is at the root of such depression as exists in commercial circles. I do not think that those people are right who attribute the difficulties to the system of taxation and things of that kind. All the world over, heavy taxation is the rule—not only heavy taxation, but even expropriation. Our misfortunes today are due to uncertainty in the state of affairs in the country. If, therefore, we want trade and commerce to improve, we must get security as soon as possible, and for that good understanding is absolutely necessary. To the extent that we all contribute to mutual good understanding, we contribute to trade and commerce.

You have referred in my case, as you have referred in the case of every leader who comes as your guest, to past achievements. We are now concerned with the future. I hope that you will build a happy India as soon as possible. We must remove the causes of our present unhappiness and make India happy as soon as possible. Nobody's interests need clash with anybody else's interests today. Everyone of us is highly interested in the progress of India.

If only all people realise that we will be happy. We must get rid of the notion that because of the partition of the country, any conflict of interests has arisen. The interests of one part are not in conflict with the interests of the other part. Administrative reasons do not create conflicts. We are both interested in each other. This too, I hope, will soon be realised.

You have referred to Hyderabad and Kashmir. Government is dealing with these problems with as much patience as any government can command. Do not imagine that Government is either not aware of the difficulties or has not talent enough to understand them, or is not willing enough to overcome them. But current delicate problems sometimes make it impossible to make public at every stage every step taken by Government. Please have confidence in the Government. I am very glad that in your address of welcome you have expressed the fullest confidence in the Government. I am extremely gratified at the tone of the reception address that you have given.

I wish all prosperity to your province. This province, you are right in observing, has a great future before it. There is a tremendous amount of untapped sources in this province which awaits your co-operation and that of Government. I am sure that soon this part of India will take a very much higher place in the economy of India than it has hitherto done. But industrialised or not, is it not a matter of great gratification to you that you are feeding Madras and such deficit areas of India? You have the proud privilege of claiming that your province has all the most essential requisites. You are a surplus province. I wish many other provinces were in a position to say this. If that could be secured by not being industrialised, I should welcome a continuation of this non-industrialisation! But that is not the case. Non-industrialisation does not mean more food and surplus food will not go down because of industrialisation. Your province has not doubt a great future, but you will have to wait for good understanding all round and for Government and people to have the time and the energy and the inclination to take up reconstruction.

Thank you all once again. I go away with the best of memories about your province and your welcome and kindness to me.

AT THE KAMPTEE CLUB.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Kamptee Club, Nagpur on August 28, 1948 :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Let me congratulate your Brigadier on the excellent style and manner of his speech. Not only as Governor-General, but even otherwise I have keen appreciation of good talk and good writing.

I thank you very much for the friendly and cordial sentiments you have expressed. I know how simple-hearted and good you all are. None among those who are responsible for the government of the country doubts the loyalty, sincerity or the highest patriotism of the soldiers, wherever they may be, whoever they may be, whatever they may be. Whether they are young or old, senior or junior officers, all are imbued with strong patriotism.

We have had troubles. God sent them to us. We have to accommodate ourselves to these troubles. If you had it all easy, you would have deteriorated in character. You would have become idle and arrogant. Now you are vigilant and watchful. We will have to get strong over these troubles, just as a recruit gets strong by exercise. India may be called a recruit in a sense and all these troubles that we have now are just exercise that God has given us to strengthen our fibre and stamina. Do not imagine that the Government is neglectful or indifferent or forgetful. They may talk a lot of other things, but their thoughts are with the armed forces of the country. They love you and I hope you will continue to love them. Thank you for the opportunity you have afforded me to make your acquaintance.

AT THE JANAPADA SABHA BHAVAN.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Janapada Sabha Bhavan, Nagpur on August 28, 1948 :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, HONOURABLE MINISTERS, MR. PRESIDENT,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It is a very great pleasure to be amidst a representative body of workers like this. I have had the advantage of having had a full account of your plan from the Honourable Minister for Local Government, my old friend Pandit Misra. It is a great experiment and I wish it all success. It is a

great experiment because if it succeeds, it will be useful all over India. Until you succeed, it cannot be taken up elsewhere. Because of its far-reaching importance, people are entitled to wait for the results of your experiment. You have, therefore, a heavy responsibility.

This experiment is truly an experiment in the fundamentals of democracy. The fundamental of devolution is character. If authority is to be transferred to the bottom, it depends entirely on individual character. If the character of the people is bad, then democracy will fail. Where there is no character widespread enough and good enough, a few people will have to take charge by force and govern the country. It will carry on efficiently, but it gives no chance to the people to correct their errors.

In the present scheme, the Government have placed trust in the people, believing that it will be a good experiment in true and fundamental democracy. It is not necessary to make perfect rules. Everything depends upon the patriotism of the common citizen. If you love your own advantages more than you love your country, this scheme will fail. It is only if the people resolve that they would be good citizens, that this experiment will succeed. If it fails, I would not still be sad. To the extent that we have tried, we shall have done service to the future.

To transfer power to the people, it is necessary to make arrangements for the improvement of character. Along with this scheme, we must have a scheme for general education. Education is not literacy. A man may find it very difficult to read, but he may be a very good man as your President has proved to be. A man can be a leader of the people and can be a *Rishi* among the people without knowing how to read or write.

There was a man about whom you have very prejudicial accounts, whose name was Haider Ali and who raised Mysore from the lowest depths of misery and bad government and made it a strong self-governing unit in South-India during the difficult days of early British rule. It was a very bad government that he was compelled to take charge of, and he was a terror to the British. He was an illiterate man. If he had to sign his full name, he would put down 'Hai' because he could not proceed further. Even that 'Hai' was written in the reverse way. His Minister Purniah, used to stand by him generally when he signed State documents. He was a very loyal Minister, but he had the humility and the courtesy of the old days. When he saw

his great master write 'Hai' so wrongly, he used to look down so that his face might not be seen by his master. But Haider was a clever man. Although by habit he was writing wrongly, he knew he was committing a mistake and he told Purniah one day: "Why do you look there at the paper? Ither hai (touching his head) huan nahi hai?".

Literacy is not education and education is not literacy. In the old days the highest philosophy was inculcated by our leaders through oral instruction and not through books. If you want your Janapad scheme to succeed, you must have a scheme of *Sankirtans* and *Harikatha Kalakshepams* by which you instil character into people by word of mouth and example. I wish I knew your language. Then I could have offered my services if they were wanted. There is no use writing books in a style which we like but which is not understood by the people. We can lock up good ideas in very difficult words just as a miser locks up his money in the safe. You must write in the popular language and you must speak in the popular language, and you must be good in your conduct, which is the best language of all.

The officers who move about helping the Janapada scheme will have to sympathise with the difficulties of the common folk. If they find any failure either through want of character or want of knowledge, they will have to be helpful and not critical. If officers are to do this, they must imagine themselves to be missionaries of democracy rather than officers of Government. Although they may have all the authority, they have to have something more—humility and helpfulness in their general conduct. I hope and pray that God will help you to make the scheme successful and make it attractive to other Provinces also. I thank you for the beautiful casket and address you have given, and for the more beautiful thing, namely, your sincere affection.

Y. M. C. A. HOSTEL, NAGPUR.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Y.M.C.A. Hostel in Nagpur on August 28, 1948 :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It has been a matter of great privilege to have been asked today to lay the foundation-stone. I hope that when I come next, I will see the whole building. That depends

on how much speed your able Treasurer will gather in collecting money! I am quite confident that all the money that is required will be got from the people who can pay and from the Government who are bound to pay whatever is wanted. I am quite confident that there is no need hereafter to apprehend misunderstanding on account of names and trifles like that. There is nothing in a name. Sometimes the name gives importance to the thing, and sometimes the thing gives a new meaning to the name.

The Y.M.C.A.'s work throughout the world has been so consistently good that it gives a new meaning to the adjective Christian. There is no reason to apprehend that people in India will understand this to be a denominational institution. The work of the Y.M.C.A. is so well known and has been so well maintained that no one will misunderstand the meaning of the name or the character of the institution.

The great goodwill movement known by the name of Y.M.C.A. has deep-rooted strength in India, and will continue, I hope, for all time to be an example to other similar movements. Let me tell all those who may still have any doubts in regard to this business that the Y.M.C.A. has nothing to do with Christianity as a denomination. It has much to do with Christianity's fundamentals. It is a simple expression of common goodwill extending throughout the world and over all people. I believe that most people understand this.

There is something by way of luck in these matters. Some institutions thrive very well, others do not. I believe somehow or other a lucky star was shining on the foundation of the Y.M.C.A. and it has gone on from success to success in its philanthropic and mighty endeavour. I congratulate all the local energetic leaders of the Y.M.C.A. who have captured the hearts of the people around and have secured so much money and help and encouragement for building this new hostel which will add to the convenience of the student world here and earn their gratitude. 35 rooms, let me say, as I am not an American, is a very big thing. If you are going to add 15 more and each room provides two more beds it is a very great addition to the comfort of the student world here. Thank you therefore on behalf of them for all the work that you have done. You have given me a privilege which I have fulfilled with joy in laying the foundation-stone.

By the way, let me tell you that this foundation-stone ceremony was arranged relatively very much more satisfactorily than some other foundation-stone functions that I

have seen. I have dealt with clumsy ropes, I have dealt with wooden sticks tied up so that we cannot untie them at all! Here it was exceedingly well done. It again shows the general tidiness of the work undertaken by good organizers—a trifle but it is a very important symptom as doctors would say!

RECEPTION BY SIKHS.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at a reception given by Sardar Sant Singh and the Sikhs of Delhi at the Imperial Hotel on September 10, 1948 :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It was very kind of my friend, Sardar Sant Singh, to have taken so much trouble in order to cheer me up. We do require a lot of encouragement and support in these days in whatever job we may be functioning. Prime Ministers, Ministers of Departments, Governor-General, Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Clerks and Constables more than anybody else, all require a little encouragement, appreciation and support, and I wish we pursued this method of helping one another so that the work of our nation may be carried on with efficiency and pleasure.

Another reason why I welcome a gathering like this is that, apart from the pleasure it gives to me personally, it gives an occasion to understand one another, to whatever communities or occupations we may belong. Sardar Sant Singh very rightly, in the course of his address, exhorted the Government through me to put down the feeling to which he gave the name “communalism”. Communalism is a bad thing if expressed in certain ways. Jealousy, ill-will and such like feelings, whether of a community or caste or religion, are bad. But some of you might have observed that while he wanted the Government to crush communalism, to use his own strong verb, he made an appeal that the Government should have a kindly eye on the Sikh community! I wish to explain this. It is not a contradiction. We are using words rather loosely. Hence seeming contradictions arise.

Let me say on this occasion with emphasis that the love which a man has for his own people is not bad. It is only when it takes other forms which are not good for the people as a whole that communalism is bad. If a man loves his own children, why should we dislike it? If a man loves his

own near relations, it is a very good thing. It is that which keeps the world going happily. If a man likes those who are of his own way of worship, it is not bad. Worship would be a mockery if the similarity of form of worship does not attract people to one another a little bit. Let us not be ashamed of loving one another more when there is a common form of worship. But when does it become bad? It becomes bad when your love for your own children makes you hate your neighbour's; when your love for your family makes you hate all other people or makes you do wrong things to other people. Love of a man for his own people, whether it is his family, community or any other group is not bad provided it does not lead him to do wrong things to those who do not belong to his community. As long as you can preserve your judgment and your sanity in that respect, I welcome a growing love of people for their own families, their own children and their own community. If Sardar Sant Singh loves his community and if he is a millionaire, he must scatter his rupees among the poor of his community. If any man loves his own people he must do all he can for his people and that is the way to maintain the structure of the world which is based on affection. But if we begin to do harm to one another, then I agree with Sardar Sant Singh that we should crush that kind of feeling because doing harm to other people cannot be tolerated by a civilized government.

Let all of us therefore who are intelligent and who love the country, try and discover ways by which men and women can be instructed and guided to help members of their own communities without hurting people belonging to other communities. It is this direction that is sadly wanting. Mere condemnation of what is bad exhausts itself in words. Let us recognise that in our country we have many communities. It is no shame that we have many communities. We are an old country, older than many others, and therefore these differences have arisen. An old garden has many varieties of trees and plants; a new garden can be modelled on a simple pattern. Let us direct intelligent men and women of every community to learn ways of helping and increasing the happiness of men and women of their communities without hurting the State or the people of other communities. If we try to abolish distinctions and make people become members of one community without difference of language, manners, ways of life or dress and such things,

are we going to succeed within the next few years when we wish to see the fulfilment of all our aspirations? We cannot within that period. Therefore, let leaders of all communities, instead of merely giving expression to impossible wishes, learn ways and methods to further love for their own people in a way which will not bring harm to others.

Now what I say may seem very difficult, but let me assure you that it is not difficult. It is only recently that our attachment to our own people seems to have taken the form of hatred for other people. In the old days we went through many centuries without this new and wrong expression. Everyone tried to help people of his own community but without hurting other people. This is the only thing we can do. But let us at the same time not narrow ourselves by isolation. Let us meet oftener as we have done today. Indeed although I am not so stupid as to welcome parties like this to extol me beyond my deserts, I admit I do find pleasure when I see people of all communities. Let us organize such occasions more and more, and I tell you, friends, that in Delhi you will see a new, rich and happy atmosphere. The moment two persons come together and understand one another, they come to love one another. It is only when we keep away from one another that we go on drifting further and further apart. Let us meet therefore as often as we can and I do not mind if numerous parties are given to me to read addresses even more difficult to digest than the one that has just been read! I do not mind if on such occasions we can get all people together. I will have opportunities to say what I have now said.

The freedom that we are all enjoying and which we are so glad to have got, is only a point of time, an opportunity. It is like somebody dressing for dinner. The dress itself will not satisfy his hunger. Even if he is dressed in an up-to-date fashion, he must eat before he can satisfy his hunger. Similarly this nation is dressed for prosperity in the form of freedom. We have just got the opportunity of helping one another. Instead of going to dinner, we have begun to quarrel with one another and the dinner is waiting. It has not yet been taken away. God is patient. He keeps the table going. Let us stop our fight soon and let us go to our dinner. It is for that we should pray. Thank you very much, Sardar Sant Singh, Ladies and Gentlemen.

BHARATI DAY.

Following is the gist of a speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor-General in Tamil on the occasion of the birthday of Poet Subramama Bharati on September 11, 1948 at the South India Club, New Delhi :—

Bharati is an immortal poet; he is one of the chiet glories of Tamil poetry. His poems are for all time. They do not satisfy men's emotions only for the moment. Those who take unchartered excursions into all that he has written will find richness of thought, emotion, imagery, melody and matchless beauty. It is up to the future generations to sing his songs, and realize the glorious pride of our tradition, heritage, cultural attainment and philosophy.

If you begin to translate his poems, the result will be a mutilated copy of the original masterpiece. Much of the charm of Bharati's songs will be lost and no one will derive pleasure from reading them. It will be absolutely impossible to go into the depth of the Poet's feelings.

A poet's genius and immortality will be preserved not by possessing neatly-printed volumes of his works, or by adorning our libraries with well-bound collections of his poems. He must be read and re-read; we must get into the stride of his feelings, his patriotism, his imagination, his emotion and his ideals. Therefore, Bharati will be ever remembered only if every home of Tamil Nad sings his songs and realizes his great contribution to Tamil poetry.

Bharati lived amongst us, talked to us, sang to us and breathed the same air and ate the same food as we. He is not a mythical figure. We are fortunate to have lived in a time which produced such a great poet as Bharati. He has depicted in his poems our faults, imperfections and our defects.

AT BIRLA MANDIR.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at Birla Mandir on September 26, 1948 in commemoration of the National Thanksgiving Day :—

We must humbly and gratefully meditate on the grace of Almighty God which steered us through danger and

crisis this month. The way in which Muslims of India belied the fears and evil forebodings expressed about them has inaugurated a new era of mutual trust and national strength. The manner in which all the communities of India stood calm and wise and helped the Government to fulfil its task in Hyderabad undisturbed by any communal incident anywhere in the length and breadth of India is truly a miracle which fills us with confidence in our future. It is a matter for national joy and pride that our armed forces did their task in such a clean and tidy manner without a spot or a doubt to besmirch honour. May our armed forces in all branches ever keep up this high standard of conduct and efficiency, whether engaged in suppressing disorder within our borders or defending the country against aggression from outside. The best answer to those who charge India with aggressive intentions is the way in which our government will deal with the problems in Hyderabad. Almighty God, whose grace preserved peace in India during this critical time, will guide us in discharging our duties wisely and without anger. God has worked a miracle where almost the whole world thought we would be engulfed by danger. Let us deserve this by preserving our humility and the instincts of love and compassion which alone make for happiness and glory.

AT JAMA MASJID.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Jama Masjid on September 26, 1948 in commemoration of the National Thanksgiving Day :—

We have assembled here today to offer thanks to God. We should enter a house of prayer with a clean heart. If we are moved by ambition or greed we should not go into a masjid or a temple or other house of prayer and seek the help of God. We are charged with the spirit of aggression and with war-mongering. This is a false charge, owing its origin to prejudice and ignorance. Those who accuse India do not know the geography of Hyderabad or the requirements and wishes of its people or its recent condition. Our accusers imagine that because British lawyers enunciated a theory that British paramountcy lapsed, Hyderabad at once changed overnight from what it was and its people became a separate nation. This is ludicrous.

Suppose a father dies suddenly. His son who is a minor is not suddenly converted into a major on account of the

father's death. No more can lapse of British paramountcy isolate Hyderabad from India and make it into a sovereign independent State in the heart of India, suddenly converting its people into a small nation to be protected by U.N O against India.

The British withdrawal of paramountcy over Hyderabad and other principalities in India was not done at the latter's instance or for their benefit. The treaties and obligations which the Crown had entered into came to an end as an incidental consequence of the transfer of power to India. The vacuum thus created could not automatically become positive sovereignty. What was and could never be a sovereign state could not be converted into one by the mere fact that certain treaties with Britain lapsed. If the people of Hyderabad were indeed a small nation, an enclave in the centre of India and they had their way, the Nizam's rule would have ended long ago and their representatives would have been sitting in the Indian Parliament.

Indian opinion has been vastly tickled by the concern of the Security Council to maintain the Nizam in all his glory. The Security Council appeared deeply agitated over the fate of a prince and they discussed the definition of a State when the only person they were concerned about was this individual. The plight of the people of Hyderabad did not cause any worry to it nor the danger that Hyderabad had become to peace and security in India.

If this principality had applied for recognition as a State by the U.N.O., India would have rightly objected to it on very solid grounds. Until 15th August 1947, the Hyderabad ruler was subject to British Indian suzerainty. After that date he accepted a Standstill Agreement that kept the old terms alive in all important matters. Whatever may have been the claims or the wishes of the Nizam, Hyderabad has not enjoyed *de facto* sovereignty as a separate State for a single day up to now. The Security Council could deal with a matter relating to Hyderabad if the steps taken by the Government of India for restoration of law and order threatened world-peace. This has been knocked out of the case by the incontestable proof of events. The calm that was preserved by all classes and communities of India was indubitable proof of what they all thought of the government of Hyderabad and its ways. The policy which the gangsters in Hyderabad forced the Nizam to follow was a danger to peace in India. If the Government of India had allowed it to grow further, it would have led to very grave

consequences affecting the whole of India and not inconceivably the peace of the world.

The Government of India have repeatedly made it clear that the people of Hyderabad will have at the earliest possible date the opportunity to settle their own government. Surrounded as that territory is on all sides by India and by people who have the closest ties of blood and identity of aspirations and interests with those of its own inhabitants, the Government of India have no doubt as to what the people of Hyderabad would desire in regard to their connections with the Government of India. There is likely to be no conflict between the inherent situation and the people's desire. Fortunately the bulk of the people of Hyderabad have no sense of separate nationality or sub-nationality from India.

It is an illusion to think that a negative has any creative power. Because transfer of power by Britain terminated certain treaties with the Crown, the social or moral or physical terrain of India has not altered. The laws governing peace and happiness in India remain the same. We cannot carve a piece out from the heart of India and charm it into separate life by the legal *mantra* of lapse of paramountcy.

Twelve months ago Gandhiji worked a miracle in Calcutta and I had the privilege of being an eye-witness. This year what greater joy can the Governor-General of India have than being an eye-witness of another miracle, the miracle worked by the common people of India, the calm and restraint preserved by them during the Hyderabad crisis. Throughout the length and breadth of this vast country there was not a single communal clash or incident to distract the government's attention and complicate its task. Only God's grace could have brought this about. This miracle will, I believe, convert sceptics and atheists to an abiding and positive faith. Everyone co-operated. Even the busy rumour-mongers were silent. This is the miracle that I have seen with my eyes in 1948. It is more pregnant with hope for us than even the miracle that Gandhiji worked. Our Mahatma has been snatched away from us. But the people who worked the miracle in 1948 will ever be alive. They are the common people, the citizens of the Union of India. There is therefore a great future before us.

Ministers, Generals, soldiers, policemen, citizens, all are entitled to our gratitude. Nothing moves in this world but God moves it. We imagine we have done great things.

The truth is God did those things. Let us be humble and deserve the grace which He so abundantly poured on us. Let us not be proud. Let us daily fill our hearts with mutual love and trust. Hyderabad has opened a new era, wherein Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs will all be loyal and trust one another. May this confidence grow into a tall, strong, wide-spreading tree. The seed has sprouted and the plant of hope has shot forth its leaves in 1948. Let us tend this precious plant. It is our life. It is our most valuable possession.

HARIJAN UDHYOGSHALA.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Harijan Udhyogshala at Kingsway, Delhi, on September 30, 1948 :—

I am very glad I have come here because I get out of the gathering a faint reflection of Bapu who is gone. Whatever you are engaged in, you should do it well. If you are learning to make a pair of shoes, you must learn to make a good pair. If you are learning to make a coat or a shirt, you must learn to make a good coat or a good shirt.

Whatever work you do, learn how to do it cheerfully. All work gives joy and whatever work you do, you should learn how to get joy out of it. A mother who makes for her children a cake gets more joy out of making it than her children in eating it.

Many people are planning memorials for Gandhiji but the boys here who learn to do work, as I have said, will be better memorials than any built by engineers. It is not out of brick and mortar that a memorial for Gandhiji can be built. We want human memorials.

I hear there are 140 boys in this school. They should become 140 walking memorials for Gandhiji. If you get frightened and tell a falsehood, then that memorial is cracked and requires repairing which can only be done if you sincerely desire it.

It is time we stopped mourning for Gandhiji. When we celebrate Ram Jayanti and Krishna Jayanti we do not think of their death and mourn. We enjoy the Jayanti as festivals and think of the lives of Ram and Krishna. Similarly, on Gandhi Jayanti days, we should find joy out of the memories of the experiences and the life of Gandhiji and the lessons learnt.

TRAINING CENTRE FOR REFUGEE WOMEN

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech (in Hindustani) at the Village Social Workers Training Centre for Refugee Women at the Poor House, Kingsway, Delhi on September 30, 1948 on the eve of Gandhiji's birthday celebrations :—

I have been deeply impressed by the fortitude and industry that the refugees in Delhi have shown man is capable of, even when overwhelmed by most unexpected misfortunes and difficulties. What I have seen has filled me with wonderment and hope. No pains should be spared to help those who have shown such readiness to help themselves. The way in which the uprooted men and women have borne their misfortunes and are patiently co-operating with the Government demonstrates our capacity for self-government more than any other parliamentary or other activity. When I came to Delhi I came as a depressed man. Having seen how the uprooted men are helping themselves, I am now full of hope. Our people can be great.

Let us not make a god of our dear Gandhiji. Our excess of devotion should not lead us to expect favours from empty worship of his picture or his statue. Let us not forget the teacher and the guide and erect an additional god to the numerous deities we have.

He taught us that love will conquer enmity. To return hate for hate is disservice to humanity, and will increase the sum of human misery and will not bring joy to the hater or to anybody else. Love is God's weapon. Hate is disease. Love will effectively and silently dissolve the hatred that hurts us.

He taught us to be truthful. No other way will take us to profit in this world or in the next. Let us lose by speaking the truth if necessary. It will bring us honour and courage which are more precious than anything we might gain by an untruth. Truth is the most reliable of all policies, most reliable of all friends, it will stand by us like the dog that stuck to Yudhishtira and like Yudhishtira who stuck to the dog.

He taught us to work hard and not to be lazy. He has told us and shown us by example how to work. Work for others, for fulfilment of duties you are expected to discharge, not for self-advancement. Do what you have to do without laziness and without being perturbed by success or defeat. There is no work that is superior, no work that is inferior;

all kinds of work that are necessary are all equally noble; and our talents, our training, our station in life settle what each one should do.

These are Gandhiji's teachings about work. Let us get strength by thinking of the good, great man whom we lost so sadly. He was the salt of the earth. He is gone. But he can live in us if we are good, loving, honest and diligent.

EMPLOYEES STATE INSURANCE CORPORATION.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech while inaugurating the Employees State Insurance Corporation on October 6, 1948 in Council House :—

MR. JAGJIVAN RAM, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me very great pleasure to declare this scheme inaugurated. I do not exactly know what my young friend means to achieve by asking me to inaugurate his scheme unless he believes like a superstitious person in the spiritual value of blessings received from an elderly person like me. If there is any value in my good wishes, I give them in abundance on this occasion.

I endorse every word of what has been said by the Honourable Minister in this connection. I am not an easy critic of speeches, but let me frankly confess on this occasion that I feel I have heard one of the best speeches any Minister may have made on any occasion. The very fine manner in which he set out the scheme and the restraint with which he recommends it to the public are admirable. Two million people will get the benefit of this scheme. In our vast country numbers do not seem to count at all. Two million is a drop in the ocean of India's population. 0.5 per cent. of the people makes two million in our country. Any scheme which serves such a large number of people deserves the good wishes of all assembled here and all those outside who wish progress for our country.

Professor Adarkar made his report in 1944. His ideas have now received concrete shape in the form of a statute and an actual scheme has been sponsored by the Ministry of Labour in the Government of India. Dr. Katial will be the person for whose head you will ask on a charger if the scheme

fails. Ministers may make policies, people may support the thing with the fullest sincerity of purpose, but unless the administration of which he is placed in charge works like a nice machine and yet in the spirit of a crusader, nothing will be achieved in our vast country. Corruption, laziness and greed are ever on watch to damn our administrative machinery and cause disappointment to our people whenever any good thing is started with a large amount of money behind it. I do not therefore exaggerate if I say that Dr. Katial's work, and the work of the machinery he is going to raise, is a very serious responsibility.

We want, I feel, for this kind of work the touch of a woman's hand. We want in this machinery a large number of women to carry the message of humanity along with efficiency of administration to the people who need both so badly. We want therefore—I won't call it an army—we are using too many martial phrases—we want something like a society of Jesus of women-workers who will be content to work all their lives on a fairly reasonable remuneration to meet their wants. I am very glad that our sister Rajkumari is present here by me on the platform to bless the scheme along with me. With her inspiration I hope that the Government will be able to secure the services of a large body of women who alone can make this scheme a success.

The Government of India have demonstrated their desire and their ability to maintain order and harmony in consonance with the wishes of the mass of the people in India so as to maintain progress and civilization in this vast sub-continent. When the British authority was withdrawn from India, a very awkward problem was left behind. An illusory status of independence was declared for numerous land-islands inside India which were intimately bound up with the rest of India through commerce, communications and social relationship, and whose defence was identical with the defence of India.

The Government of India and the Princes have shown their ability to cope with difficulties and a sense of realities in regard to the future of this part of Asia. The old Paramountcy which should have been transferred intact was left in chaos but India has re-established order. The old paramountcy was just Paramountcy. But the new order is a partnership wherein the States like the Provinces are bound closely to the Centre in whose direction all of them share. This is a just and natural paramountcy of the whole over the

all kinds of work that are necessary are all equally noble; and our talents, our training, our station in life settle what each one should do.

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parts, without distinction among areas and peoples among whom really there is no natural difference.

These observations of mine are not irrelevant to the problem of labour and of industrialists. Uncertainty and disintegration cannot contribute to progress which depends on industry. A Government which is distraught with problems arising out of disintegration of the State cannot give full or adequate attention to social and industrial problems. A state of war, alarm and anxiety is inconsistent with what industrial progress demands. The settlement of the relationship between India and Hyderabad, which was nearly the last problem left unsolved will do more towards that sense of security and order which is so essential to industrial effort than any other single factor.

India has turned the corner now. An atmosphere has rapidly developed in favour of mutual trust and communal harmony and united endeavour. We have great chances henceforth of going ahead with constructive work. Hereafter, we shall be on the upgrade. Both Hindus and Muslims as well as Sikhs, Christians and Parsis have found after the Hyderabad episode, a new confidence which has shed all fear complex. The month which comes every year to remind men and women of what Gandhiji thought, said and did, has coincided with events in Hyderabad and bereavement in Pakistan. There has been a tremendous re-thinking all over the land. If I may say so, friendship and goodwill have now a great chance. May the Almighty help us to be wise and enable us to complete the work. Never before did men realise as they do now, in high as well as humble circles, the truth of the doctrine—the great doctrine—that if one side begins to act generously, honestly and in accordance with the law of love, automatically the other and hesitating side is bound to follow sooner or later. A patient trust in the doctrine of love is the only practical solution for human ills.

We have the Kashmir problem yet. The Government of India share the desire expressed by the Government of Pakistan to allow the will of the people to prevail in finding a solution of the Kashmir question. Apart from Kashmir, there is no obstacle to the establishment of the most friendly relations between India and her younger sister. If then, we are at the dawn of goodwill, mutual trust and security in India, nothing can prevent our rapid march with the flag of industry.

I have no fear about inflation. I have no fear about production of food. I have no fear about capital remaining shy and unwilling to marry. Capital cannot for ever hide itself. Once security in the country is established, capital knows how to take risks with Government and with labour. The people who had money during the stormy and uncertain days of the East India Company, lent and did business quite boldly. Did they not give money to the Rajas and the Nawabs as well as to the East India Company and carry on business? I do not believe their descendants today have suddenly become less courageous. All the power that labour has shown and demonstrated successfully by way of non-co-operation with managements during recent years did not discourage or dishearten industrialists. They not only kept business going in spite of strikes and disturbances of all kinds, but paid much higher wages than they ever did before, and did not lose but made handsome profits still. All that is wanted is that labour should think compartmentally and while fighting the management for removal of grievances with all the help they can get from the Government of India under our great socialist Prime Minister and our most diligent and single-minded Labour Minister, will not do anything to diminish production of those essential articles which make or mar progress and happiness in India. Coal, electricity, transport, cloth, food these are things which should be protected as sacred. I do not like the phrase employers and labourers. The State is the only and the real employer and all workers are patriotic citizens. Every quarrel can be successfully conducted without reducing production because labour has great and undoubted friends in the Government, in the Press and in the party organisations that govern our politics, whatever smaller differences might come up to the surface now and then.

I said I was not afraid of inflation. Let us do all we can to keep down prices of articles essential for the poor man at where they stand now. But let us not get frightened as if inflation were a bacillary disease. The producer of essential articles in India has been kept at a cruel and insufferably low standard of life. There is a conspiracy of the middle and upper classes—if I may use the word conspiracy for an unconscious combination of forces—to allow the poor people who toil no chance to live a better life, whatever their earnings in money may be. Payments for work are very unjustly uneven. The reaction to this injustice finds unorganized expression in the inflation of prices of essential articles. I feel that if the man who produces rice and wheat

and maize and the man who weaves and digs and toils, receive the genuine sympathy of people who work in other spheres of life and their toil is properly valued, and certain illusions as to the value of intellectual work are set aside, all will be well in this land of Dharma.

AT THE FOREST RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech after unveiling the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, on October 9, 1948 :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

You have given me a great privilege in asking me to unveil this picture today. It has been executed well and I congratulate all those who encouraged the artist to produce a picture suitable for this beautiful hall. Very few colleges that I have seen in India have the advantage of a hall of this kind and I congratulate the students here on having such a fine meeting place.

It is easy to unveil pictures. It is difficult to be loyal to them. In the world outside, they may have a feeling that we rest content with superstitious veneration of forms and pictures. Please do your best to disprove that notion and let us try to show that our veneration for pictures and images is only a symbol and that we are truly loyal to the ideals for which they stand.

Let us, like true Indians, realise that a picture is no less real than an ordinary living being and that an ordinary living being is no more true than a picture. There is not much difference between what we imagine to be real like a living human being and a picture which we all take to be non-living. When we dive into ultimate reality, there is not much difference. Therefore treat this picture as if it were a living man himself and try to develop loyalty and devotion to that picture.

Let me now go round and see this college which I have always been looking forward to see. It is an old institution. Even as a little boy I knew about the Forest College in Dehra Dun. It was elsewhere before. I want boys here to look upon the institution with the veneration due to an old historic institution of modern India.

INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun on October 9, 1948 :—

I am very pleased to have seen your institution. I have spent a very pleasant morning. I am no kind of a soldier. I cannot scale heights, jump a pit or carry a long pole behind my back and manage to walk on a rope. But I have understanding enough to appreciate the hard tasks you do and the cheerfulness with which you do them. I have understanding enough to appreciate how useful you are to the nation as a whole. You get training here for military life—for the first time for a patriotic military life, not merely for a professional military life.

Let me tell you that I never appreciated the phrase "mercenary". It was a common phrase in the newspapers of the previous decade. It was wrong to call it "mercenary". It would have been better to call it a profession. It was professional soldiery; just as a doctor who has the equipment finds joy in practising his profession, incidentally making some money and curing some unhappy and sick people, the soldiers found joy in the professional life of a soldier. Incidentally they made some money for their families and incidentally they protected the country. That was professional soldiery. Today you have additional joy. Even if you get a little less money than others before you used to get or less value for the money, you have an additional joy in this that you do not have a mere profession but you are serving your own people.

That new joy I see now in the bright faces of every cadet and every officer in India, a thing we did not see some years ago. In the old days there was loyalty and discipline. A soldier turned 90 degrees exactly or marched quite correctly with a fixed stare in the face as soldiers are trained to wear. But in the beginning of August last year, senior officers especially were somewhat disturbed. They found that they did not turn exactly 90 degrees but 88 degrees. The other two degrees were lost in contemplation of the new freedom that they had got. Senior officers were disturbed by a little slackness in the gestures that made up a salute, a little slackness in the words they used. Some of them said "Jai Hind", some of them said "Namaste", and all of them were confused as to what exactly they should do on each occasion. All that was a little disturbing, but the disturbance was due to the new joy that they all felt.

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Things have now settled down and I find that the face of every soldier in India now is more beautiful than it was, because handsomeness comes out of internal joy. There is no disharmony in their mind. There is no conflict in the mind between duty to officers, duty to the army, duty to the profession and duty to the country. Everyone is more cheerful now. May we not therefore offer thanks to God for all this joy?

You do not know how many people there are who are ready to give money to me or to the Prime Minister, saying "Distribute this among the soldiers". I can raise any fund for you. That is the state of mind in the country today. If instead of levying a tax and allotting a budget for the army, the Government said today "People are allowed to pay whatever they like for the good of the Army", we would raise a higher revenue than ever we did before in the Legislative Assembly for defence. That is due to the cheerfulness of the people now.

Let me tell you this. Of all the professions in India today—whether it is a doctor's, a sanitary officer's, a lawyer's, a teacher's, a civil servant's or a barber's—of all the professions, high and low in this country, the Army is the most popular profession among the people—popular not in the sense that they all like to join the army, but popular in the sense that they love the army. There is no greater encouragement or pleasure to people than to be loved by other people. That is the biggest addition to your salary. Over and above the money you get as salary, you have the current of the living love of the people. The old Commanders-in-Chief and other senior military officials, including the old Subedars, did not get it. But today everybody loves you. Therefore every rupee that you are now getting from the Government is a golden rupee, not a silver rupee. I wish I were young, if for nothing else, at least for the pleasure of being admitted here and taught as a cadet in this institution. They seem to teach here everything in the world and so quickly. In other colleges they walk; in this college you run! Find joy in everything. You go through hard physical exercise. You are taught mathematics, science, physics and similar subjects. Many of you are getting practice in the art of talking. In modern times war is conducted not as in the old days by merely killing one another. Now they conduct wars by talking, writing, and by telling the other side how much we can do. In the old days men were born to obey. There was feudal loyalty—discipline and obedience by birth. Today nobody obeys

anyone else blindly. You must explain beforehand why we should obey you. What you learn here by way of talking and explaining is therefore not useless. It is part of the equipment for national defence.

I wish you success in all your tasks. I wish no war should come and overtake us, that we should never have to wage war. It is good to keep your fangs like a cobra in your mouth but not bite anybody. We have to keep arms, but it is not good to wage war. We have to keep our fangs all right. We have to keep ourselves in form, but we have to keep cool and not lose our temper. The best pacifists in any country are the soldiers in that country. It is the civil population that often shout war and want battle. But it is the strong that restrain themselves. It is the weak that do not know how to restrain themselves. I wish you all strength. I wish you all calm.

DOON SCHOOL.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on Founder's Day at Doon School, Dehra Dun, on October 9, 1948 :—

This visit has proved most interesting and has helped to create hope in me. Education is the most difficult of all tasks. It is one of the most essential things and in a very highly civilized country like ours the aims are always very high. I wish there were other institutions equally good, scattered all over the country and run equally efficiently with swimming pools, workshops, art and music classes and everything in order. But we have not the resources to multiply institutions of the type we have here.

What then shall we do? Can we do with inferior education? Our minds will not accept such a proposition. We want superior education. Therefore, we will have to devise a way to make it cheaper but as good as it is here. You may not have this swimming pool, but you must drive boys to village ponds and make them swim there. You may not have Mr. Martyn, but you must get some local man who has got the instinct for teaching. If anyone tells me that this cannot be made cheaper, then the problem is an impossible one.

We may not all have race horses, but we can all have bicycles. We have beautiful carpets to show what carpets

can be, and at the same time we distribute cheap rugs to protect people against the cold.

I went round not as President of the Governing Body, but as one interested in methods of education. I can say the methods are very good here. The boys are bright and happy. If you go to any school and you find the boys looking unhappy, shut that school down. That is my advice. The first essential in all schools is that boys and girls should be cheerful and happy, then they must be made into active and good human beings. If they are not active, then education is not worthwhile. They can remain good in their own homes.

What I like here is that boys are made to do work. They are made to produce things and to see that there is joy in work. I could see the joy in their faces when they were shaping wood or hammering a piece of iron or painting a picture. The gradual development of this side of a boy's character is the most important part of the system here. It can be incorporated everywhere without great cost. In all villages, boys can be taken by the local Mr. Martyn to the local workshops and made to see things and take part in them.

Then there is the problem of mixing. You have here an excellent community life. Boys from all parts of India come here. Our culture is a synthesis of our own culture *plus* something which came and has been here for 150 years. 'Quit India' we said to Britain, but the English language remains. 'Quit the English language' some people shout. What language will you use in Doon School? The present synthesis of culture that India has developed can not be undone. This school represents a synthesis with which we have to bear for some time at least and whatever the medium of instruction in other schools in other provinces, I fear the English language will remain here.

It won't suit national self-respect. It may be impossible for you to cope with popular opinion. You will have to introduce the national language as a medium. But you will have again to compromise. What I mean is this. We will have to give perfect freedom to the efficient teacher to use whatever medium he likes, according to the class which he is instructing. It depends on the composition of the class and the subject you teach. That is perhaps the only solution for the immediate problems before us in regard to the medium of teaching. If you try anything else by compulsion, you will have trouble. You will not be able to do anything.

If we can sit down, close all schools and think quietly for a year, probably then we might discover a solution, but the schools must run. It is like trying to repair a railway train while it is in motion. All schools will have to be going on, just as all work will have to be going on. Therefore, we will have to make a number of compromises. That is the problem.

This is a very fine school. I was impressed at the amount of science taught in this school. It is wrong to think that science teaches only science. Science brings about a change in the whole attitude of the boys. It brings about correct judgment, alertness and obedience to laws. In fact, science is an excellent culture medium for boys and girls.

I give my blessings to all the boys that are studying in the school. May they have the best careers in life and—if no careers are available—the best of tempers in life. Let them go through life happily and with joy which can be got with or without a career.

RAM LILA CELEBRATIONS.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of Ram Lila at Gandhi Grounds, Delhi, on October 12, 1948 :—

I am glad to see you all assembled and my pleasure is greater as I see you gathered to offer worship to Ram. May the blessings of Ram be on you until next Ramlila. Ram came to show to men how one could sacrifice all for truth. May you follow good and brave Hanuman. Serve God and man as Hanuman served Ram and Sita. Thank you for your address to me. I shall place it at Ram's feet.

ID IN DELHI.

Following is the gist of His Excellency the Governor-General's speech in Hindustani at the congregational prayers offered by the Delhi Muslims at the Idgah on October 14, 1948 in celebration of ID :—

This is a day of prayer and sacrifice. All nations in the world have from time immemorial worshipped God through sacrifice. The Hindu scriptures lay down the rule

that we should offer food as a sacrifice and consecrate it before we eat. Otherwise, the scriptures say, it is theft.

It is a great thing that Delhi has celebrated Dussehra and Id together and that the joy of human fellowship has not been disturbed. As I have said before, we have turned the corner. Our past griefs may be forgotten and all will be well. Government is determined to treat all alike and India will demonstrate that diversities of language or forms of worship do not matter as long as truth is one and God is one.

Let us learn more and more to see on all occasions the substance behind every form, the reality behind the apparent and diverse exterior of all things. This alone is real knowledge. It is this that will make for peace and happiness in this land.

COLLEGE HOSTEL AT UDAIPUR.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Hostel for Shri Maharan Bhupal College at Udaipur on October 21, 1948 :—

THE HON'BLE CHIEF MINISTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me great pleasure to see you all here waiting to see a good deed performed. It is more important to provide a hostel than to provide a college. The first thing I would say is a hostel, the second a play-ground and the third, intellectual education. Though we reverse the order, it is good we have these things some time or other. When I was last here, I was in the College. I hope and wish that the hostel may grow up soon and students who come to live in it do not quarrel with the Government or their parents but attend to their studies. They must work revolutions in their own habits and their minds before they try to work revolution outside. It is only if we make revolutionary changes in our habits of thought and habits of speech and habits of action that we shall be able to make any change in the world outside. There is no reason why we should not be clear-minded and see things correctly and accurately. There is no reason why we should not talk accurately and softly and gently wherever possible. There is no reason why we should not act truthfully and justly. We can at least learn one thing—to speak gently and not harshly.

I would not consider any young man educated and cultured if he does not know how to talk gently

and avoid harsh language. The Samskrit word for culture is the same as for humility. Both culture and humility go by the name of 'vinaya'. Those who spoke Sanskrit and wrote Samskrit in the old days knew the fundamentals of culture. That is why they gave the name, humility, to culture itself. Therefore to the young men who are gathered here I give this advice: Learn from now to speak softly which comes out of humility.

I wish you young men all success in your efforts. Only if young men succeed will our country advance. I and the men and women of my generation have almost finished our work and we are handing over this beautiful country to you. I am not speaking of the hostel but of the whole country. The whole of this country is handed over to you, young men and women, and you have to look after it. Do not make this beautiful thing ugly. This beautiful country will be ugly if we hate one another. Stand before a mirror and look at your face. If you entertain a thought of hate, you will see the face becomes ugly. If you entertain a thought of love and affection, pity or sympathy, your face becomes more beautiful than it was. There can be beauty in the face only if there is kindness in the heart. The whole of our country will smile and become beautiful if we develop kind thoughts towards one another.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT UDAIPUR.

His Excellency the Governor-General received an address of welcome from the Udaipur City Municipal Corporation on October 21, 1948 and in reply said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND CITIZENS,—

It gives me great joy to see you all gathered here. This is the second time I have come to this historic place. On the last occasion I came here as a private gentleman. Now I stand before you not in my individual capacity but as an unworthy symbol of a great thing. No single individual among us can properly and fully represent the whole State. But as we have lost the old habit of finding a representative of the State in a Royal personage, we have to be content with ordinary people.

Some think this is an improvement, others that it is a loss. If we lose the symbols through which we can at once understand the dignity and power of the whole State, it is not certain whether we have lost or whether we have gained. Those who are wise find new symbols before they discard old symbols. Just as all old things disappear, old

institutions also are disappearing. But if we are wise, we will hasten to develop the same respect, love and loyalty to the new State that we have set up in democratic form. Otherwise we shall have lost.

I shall not refer to the duties of Ministers and governments. I am speaking only of the wisdom of the people who are to be governed. If you go to a temple you should have the same devotion whether the idols be of marble or of clay. If I went to a temple and always saw mud or clay or metal without seeing God, you would rightly call me a fool. When you see a Minister, you must see in him the government which we have struggled hard to produce. Ministers have to be elected. They come to ordinary people and go through fierce competition. You should not be confused by this. When a temple is repaired, they take the idol out and put it out in some place. When it is restored, everybody respects the idol as if it were God Himself. When you see Ministers, do not say he was an agriculturist, a tailor or a retail dealer of cloth! It is only your own blindness that does not see God in the idol. It is your own blindness that does not see the government in the tailor or in the peasant.

I appeal thus to you, friends, because in this great historic place you have now a constitutional government. I speak to you about citizenship and not politics. I do not imagine that the love and respect that you have shown me has been shown to me as an individual. You have shown it to the new temple of freedom that you have erected.

I congratulate the people of Rajasthan on giving refuge to so many destitute people who have been wandering over India. I was especially glad to see the cheerful faces of the strangers walking on your roads. In these rural areas people have not yet learnt to be cruel or miserly. I see that the homeless people on the roads here have a cheerful look. May you preserve charity for all time, whatever may be your own difficulties.

I thank the Corporation for their kindness and for all the arrangements and the beautiful reception that they have organised. May the Corporation of Udaipur never have the difficulties of other corporations. May the people of Udaipur, this historic place, ever retain the qualities symbolized by this *Keerti Stambha* that you have presented to me. This tower should be a source of inspiration. You can get *Keerti* not by amassing wealth, but by being good to one another. The one thing needed in India now, more than anything else, is mutual affection. If this is guaranteed, all will be well.

We have been fortunate enough to have had a man living among us whose spirit has been seen to be the right way of life by the people of the world. Let us prove ourselves worthy of having had him for some time with us. The whole world expects us to love one another and looks to India wistfully hoping that we will teach the true way of life by the people of the world. Let us prove our Jawaharlalji. He is a symbol of all of us. If we quarrel with one another, how can we hope to lead the world?

The Maharana, by giving away his rights to the people, has become greater. The old rule laid down in the *Upanishads* that we can enjoy only by giving away, applies also to constitutions. "*Tena tyaktena bhujithah*". Rulers can now maintain the old institution and the authority of government only by giving away power to the people. We who have taken it over must know how to keep it. The Ministers are aware of the great responsibilities they have taken on. They sleep less than they ever did before. The rulers who have parted with authority are much happier than the Ministers who have taken over responsibility. It is in our power to make the government strong and good. The *sakti* of any temple depends on the devotion of the pilgrims. The power of the government depends on the loyalty of the people.

Our Prime Minister has gone to London. He is greatly loved and respected there. They know that all the people of India love and respect him. The future of India depends on the devotion of the people to our government and I say this not as belonging to one party or another, but as representing the whole of India, without difference of party, community or religion. Whoever it may be that advises you to do anything which will increase our quarrels, I beg of you to reject that advice. Our glory depends on mutual affection. If you want *keerti* for the whole of India, we must restore mutual affection and guard it as a miser guards his gold.

DESTITUTE REFUGEE WOMEN'S HOME.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Destitute Refugee Women's Home, Govardhan Vilas Palace, Udaipur, on October 22, 1948 :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to see the work that is being done here. Talking is easy,

work is hard. We see that every day since we took over independent India. In addition to the ordinary difficulty of work, we have the huge problem of men and women and children rendered homeless. It is not enough that we give them a place to live in. We have to find them work. We have to provide a home where there is work. It makes it difficult to people who are already in work. Merchants who have settled down in a certain place do not welcome additional competition. People who are employed do not like a large body of people arriving from outside to compete with them. There is therefore great need for patience and charity.

We have gone through trouble. Our soldiers fight, get wounded or killed on our behalf. Some people suffer misfortune by losing their hands or their eyes in the country's cause. Those who are in cities and towns must at least bear other kinds of trouble. We should therefore not be impatient. Let us be cheerful while we live. Do not think that other people are very happy and we are unhappy. Even those who appear to be happy have a lot of trouble. I think refugees in Udaipur and round about here are lucky. There is plenty of goodwill, plenty of generosity and good manners. People do not seem to misunderstand one another here very much. If the refugees will listen to me, I will give them some advice. Do not talk: do always something. All will be well if you follow my advice.

VALLABH KANYA KELAVNI MANDAL

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the opening ceremony of the Vallabh Kanya Kelavni Mandal building at Rajkot on October 22, 1948 :—

DARBAR SHRI, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me great joy to see a finished block of buildings dedicated to the cause of girls' education. It gives me additional joy to have been asked formally to open what will serve as a memorial to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's services to the people. The organisers are sad that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is not able to be here in the flesh. He is, as you know, not enjoying strong health. You must therefore permit me to represent him both in body and mind. I can claim the privilege of sharing as a brother in everything that is done for Vallabhbhai Patel. It is sad to remember that Vithalbhai Patel whose heart would have swelled with

pride to see the freedom that we have now attained is gone. You have already a memorial for him in Swaraj as well as in other institutions.

I was gratified to learn that eminent educationists have drawn up the scheme of education in this institution, philanthropic citizens have given all material assistance and good trustees are in charge. It is bound to be a success. Every girl trained here, I hope, will prove to be an exemplary teacher. I do not think there are many places in India where so much work has been done on a philanthropic basis, everything has proceeded so quickly and planned so efficiently as it has been here. I am glad to open a finished institution instead of laying a foundation-stone for an institution hereafter to be built.

I give my best wishes to all the girls. Let no one who is studying here imagine that girls who are in modern colleges are more lucky. Let them not imagine that here they go through a training which builds them up more to look after the household than after public institutions. In time to come, girls who are educated here will qualify better to be leaders even in the legislatures than college girls who come from the Universities. I utter this warning to the girls who are wasting their time in other colleges! There they get first-class education, but to a certain extent they are cut away from the main current of women's life in India. Those who have organised the scheme of education in this institution—and I know all of them personally—have based it so that girls who are educated here can become true leaders of culture in India on the women's side.

I thank the organizers on my own behalf, and, may I say, on behalf of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel also. Thank you for giving me the honour of being at this large and beautiful gathering.

AT RAJKOT.

His Excellency the Governor-General was presented with a civic address by the Government and people of Saurashtra at Rajkot on October 22, 1948 and in reply said :—

YOUR HIGHNESSES, MR. CHIEF MINISTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me great joy to see this large gathering of patriotic citizens. Kathiawar is the birthplace of

Mahatma Gandhi. The whole of India looks upon Kathiawar as the mother of their beloved lost son. As long as he was alive, nobody asked what part of India he belonged to. When he has gone, people look about for signs and tokens and memorials. We must pay our homage to this part of India which gave birth to such a great man.

This is the first time as an individual that I place my foot on this holy soil. But I come to you today not in my individual capacity. I have come to bring you the good wishes and blessings of the whole of India, and I speak these words on their behalf. Your State, in its new form, is a young baby. It is only seven or eight months old. Although it is an ancient land, this new experiment in governing ourselves is young here and we have to be careful. You are more lucky than people in other parts of India because you have a great many of those who have received personal training and instruction under Mahatmaji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The people of Saurashtra may therefore be confident that all will be well and that difficulties will be overcome soon.

A great thing has been done here. Unification is a very difficult thing and that has been achieved. Let us confess that even in the great days of old, there were more than fifty kingdoms in India. Each one of the rulers called himself the Emperor of India and there were quite a number of emperors. It must be admitted plainly that we had numerous kingdoms in India. Today we are having practically one government in India. The British claim that they gave us this unity. They claim that they unified India and made a present of unified India to us. This is in great many respects true. But when they went, they tried their best to make it not one but several. There were many reasons for them to do this. We need not go into the merits of those reasons. But we have, with God's help and with Sardar's energy, re-unified the broken parts.

Let me ask you to look at these things in a large way. In the old days, kingdoms were made and maintained by force. By force, a king cannot maintain his kingdom beyond a certain limit and so there were many kingdoms in India. By force we can conquer and maintain authority only over a limited area. Today kingdoms are made and maintained and supported by agreement. The agreement of people being now the basis of government, we can cover as much territory as agreement can cover. It is obvious to anyone who goes round and sees any part of India—and

this meeting is one such example—that all the people of India are agreed that there should be one government in India. Today government is based on the people's consent and therefore government can be one for the whole of India. All opposition to this movement for one government in India crumbles to pieces at the first touch. You have placed before India a noble example of unification and all India will learn by it.

We must for some time suspend individual aspirations and ambitions. During the period of infancy of the State, no individual must think of himself but of Saurashtra as a whole. Men and women should all combine in this noble aspiration. Even Alladin when he had the lamp had to rub it hard to produce what he wanted. Freedom is an Alladin's lamp, but we have to rub very hard. The greatness of a country depends on the amount of work that is put in by the people. Nothing will grow by itself. We will have to make everything. The people will have to work.

Those who work with their bodies must be respected as the first citizens of the State. Those who work with their brains must stand behind and look upon those who work with their bodies as superior to them. Those who do monotonous work or unpleasant work must be treated with special respect. All work gives a certain amount of joy but those who do intellectual work get more joy out of it than those who do monotonous manual work. If our intelligence is worth anything, the men who are intelligent and do intellectual work should know that they should respect those who do unpleasant and tedious work, as rendering greater service to the State than they. Those who do work with their intellect are already paid for it by the joy that they get out of it. We must pay, recompense, encourage and respect those who do unpleasant work.

I have said so much about this because I feel convinced that the greatness of India depends on the way in which those who work with their bodies will work in India from now. God has blessed us all with intelligence. Some have had opportunities to develop the use of it. Some have not had the opportunities. We must treat all alike. The future of Saurashtra depends on the way in which you will enable the peasants of Saurashtra to work. The intelligent people of Saurashtra have the whole of India to go to and work. Let not the intelligentsia think of their own Province. They can work anywhere and will serve the whole of India wherever they may be. Let us not become provincial in our

outlook though we may love our Province as much as we like. The movement for freedom has already demonstrated what the Saurashtra people can do. I have no doubt that soon those who have founded this new democratic government in Saurashtra will find that their work will bear good fruit. But we must remember one thing. We should decide to be honest and industrious. You should so behave that people will not forget that Mahatma Gandhi belonged to you. May Krishna bless the land where He ruled as his own.

RAJKUMAR COLLEGE.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at Dinner at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot on October 22, 1948 :—

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I do not believe that I am less happy or less pleased than His Highness the Rajpramukh on this occasion. He is young and there is everything in the world before him. I am old and I have left the world more or less behind me. Still I feel that there is joy in company of this kind. I have derived great pleasure during this visit seeing so many Princes together. I do not tire of telling my colleagues and friends who have now taken or are taking public responsibility for government in various parts of the country and relieving hereditary authorities of their powers, that there is still much use for Princes and when I say Princes, I include all those to whom common folk look up with devotion.

It is very difficult to create a new institution. Institutions that exist are the result of long evolution. If you examine, with a scientific and unbiassed eye, anything that has grown and remained for a long time, you will see it has grown and remained in existence not merely by plots and conspiracies, but because of the need for such an institution and because of the satisfaction it has given to the people. By and large, therefore, any institution that has stood the test of ages and has remained till 1948 should be examined carefully before you replace it or put it aside. You may gather from what I have said that I am a hardened conservative. But wisdom does not exclude change. It does not exclude even revolution. But when you deal with living institutions, you should deal with them wisely. It was, I think, at Gwalior, when I was last there, that parties after

parties of peasants came with flowers and other symbols of devotion to the Maharaja's palace, because an heir-apparent had been born at the time. When I saw the peasantry of the whole State coming with music and all the paraphernalia of joy, as if a child had been born in their own family, I asked myself the question: who taught them to do this? Is there any use in this? And I said to myself there was great use for it, as much use as for any other form of devotion in this world.

But times having changed, we want a new kind of government. Still we want someone to whom the devotion of the people automatically flows. Ruling Princes have a long tradition of popular respect behind them. If we have sufficient moral force in ourselves, we can see that the members of the various royal families conduct themselves so as to deserve that devotion in modern times. You should not give them up in a hopeless spirit. Look at the example of the British people. They have had kings against some of whose personal lives much could have been said. There have been many nobles there who similarly distinguished themselves. Yet, on the whole, those people have been useful to the nation and earned the nation's appreciation. The British people did not disregard the king as an unimportant person. He has no authority worth mentioning. He does not attend Cabinet meetings nor does he do anything by way of exercising power. All the same, people in England are mad over him. When a boy is born to his daughter, the whole nation feels like the Gwalior peasants I referred to. They dress themselves and carry presents. Only they do not make so much fuss. Things are done differently but all enjoy the event nevertheless.

Take my own case. Why does India want a Governor-General? Why do you all make so much fuss when I come? I do not take any part in the government and do not do anything worth mentioning in the government. Yet everybody seems to think that I am doing something useful and they seem to like me. Now if you can tolerate me and tolerate the Governors of Provinces, I do not see why you do not like one who has been brought up, so to say, in the culture of governorship. Nobody taught me how to behave if I should be made Governor-General. But the Rajpramukh is taught from the time of his birth how to behave as a Maharaja or as a Rajpramukh. If we do need Governors and Governors-General—and everybody feels like that—let us not take it for granted that all Rajas and Maharajas and Nawabs should be deposed. There is some

use for them. But history has taken a course which we cannot now alter, and therefore there is a certain amount of necessary change.

I would advise all democratic statesmen who take office and who are responsible to the people for efficient and good government, to make the best use of such institutions as exist until we develop a new tradition and new machinery for the conservation of automatic national devotion. I plead therefore for very cordial, friendly and mutually helpful co-operative relationship between men of the type and position of the Rajpramukh who has spoken such kind words of welcome to me, and people like him. That of course does not mean you should have 560 odd Princes to confuse matters. We have to integrate India into one. It was very welcome to me that the Maharaja of Bhavnagar was invited to be Governor of Madras. It gave me a fresh demonstration of what I was thinking. If somebody can be Governor of Madras, why not the Maharaja of Bhavnagar who has been trained in the art of non-controversial helpfulness to the machinery of government. He is there and he is doing very well from all that I have heard. The parallel which was drawn by the Rajpramukh, that while a son of Saurashtra is Governor of my own Province, a son of Madras is Governor-General of India, was a very interesting one. There is something in tradition and culture.

If you want a teacher, a teacher born in a teacher's family is likely to be more easily a good teacher than one who has been merely trained. I do not know if everybody appreciates the value of the training which particular communities get in particular professions through the caste system. Have we established carpenters' institutes in this country to train carpenters? No. Have we established fishing institutes in this country to train people? No. But we have ready-made fishermen, ready-made carpenters, ready-made barbers, ready-made almost everything, and that most difficult of all professions, ready-made scavengers. We still live very much in the caste system. I am not pleading for the maintenance of caste divisions. I want inter-marriage among all castes and all religions without distinction. Nothing else will solve our communal and caste difficulties. We may say, "down with communalism", but we cannot do it unless we freely encourage inter-marriages among all communities.

I have said so much in a rather rambling way because I want the new ministries to succeed not only in Saurashtra but everywhere. Here are gathered Ministers as well as

Princes. May I on this occasion point out that our new Ministries should develop the best relations with the authorities whom they have replaced, and should make them feel that they are still looked upon with respect and treated with courtesy. The Princes also should not look upon Ministers as trespassers or persons who have come into authority too prematurely. They should look upon them as friends and symbols of changed times and as people worthy of being helped. If the Princes love the people, they should love the Ministers whom the people have elected as their representatives. There should be mutual love and mutual affection. I am sure that both urban and rural culture will benefit in our country if we adopt this attitude. Otherwise we shall be making mistakes. There is still a great deal of work to do. We must therefore be wise and cautious. Let us be confident but let us not be arrogant.

JALASIKA DAM.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Jalasika Dam at Rajkot on October 23, 1948 :—

YOUR HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Bringing water to a thirsty soil and to the eager and industrious peasants of the land is the greatest act anyone may be privileged to perform. I congratulate the new Government of Saurashtra on the excellent piece of work that they have undertaken here. If they finish this well, any other omission on their part will be forgiven by the people. You have conferred on me a great honour in asking me to lay the first stone of this dam. It is only your kindness and no merit on my part which has given me this honour. Long ago the rulers of some of the States of Saurashtra had conceived this great plan. But all good plans have to pass through difficulties. We had apparently not pleased the Gods in order to get the plan quickly into motion. May Vigneshwar bring no more difficulties.

From time immemorial we have before us the great inspiration of Bhagirath who brought Ganga down to the earth. Every Public Works Minister and Chief Engineer who starts additional irrigation work is a Bhagirath. When he finishes, not only we but all his ancestors will be pleased. Our sins will be forgiven and washed off in the water that will be welcomed by the peasants.

But Bhagirath's performance too was obstructed. Long was his penance and long must be our penance now in the form of industry. I do not know who will be the lucky person who will be asked to turn the water on to the fields when the work is completed. I hope and wish that His Highness of Wankaner will be here to see it. I know his heart is pleased today. He should not mind the difficulties which he has had to overcome, provided we finish the scheme in our life-time.

I find a personal joy in participating in this function this morning. The soil and the whole place remind me of my own native village. I feel as if I had gone back to it. But my native village is unfortunate. Nobody has spent any time there. It has produced a man who has had the honour of putting the first stone of a dam hundreds of miles away from his place. One day let me hope a son of Saurashtra will place a dam in my village.

I have no doubt that this scheme will be quite successful. There is a time factor in the building of dams which is very important. We must be able to fight the storms and complete the dam before storms get ready to attack it. For that reason, small dams are more effective. When you read in newspapers about big dams in contemplation, do not imagine that yours is small. Yours may be small but it is more real. When I see the downs here and the river, I am full of hope that you will finish it soon. I hope I shall live to eat some of the grain that will grow in the lands around. I give my best wishes to the Government which has undertaken this work. Our gratitude should turn to those who first conceived this plan and gave it to us in a ready shape

BANQUET AT BARODA.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at a Banquet given by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda on October 23, 1948 :—

YOUR HIGHNESS, SRIMANT YUVARAJA, MR. PRIME MINISTER
AND GENTLEMEN,—

You have been very kind and I must thank Your Highness and your Government for the welcome that has been shown to me on my arrival and here at this banquet. As it has been often said so truly, you do not find words to give expression to your feelings when you really feel very much. Overwhelmed by the remarkable demonstration of welcome

which I saw along the long route through which Your Highness was taking me on the way to the Palace this afternoon, I was wondering how I deserved all that demonstration. I found the answer that all this was not meant for me but was meant partly for Your Highness and partly to give expression to the joy at the new status that people of this State enjoy along with others in other parts of India. Although they have not yet received any material benefit out of this new status, it is amazing to see how sustained their joy is. The people of India are good and that is why they do not ask for material benefits and are still content with the crude pleasure of freedom. Any other people in the world would have been impatient with us. It may be that our people have been brought up in a long tradition of philosophy that enables them to see the difficulties of the government and to be patient.

It is not as if they had no needs. They are far from happy materially. They require so many things which any people would urge performance in respect of them. They have now had sufficient general education to make them demand many things eagerly and to expect many things to be done by the Government. We have not done much. Our newspapers are full of things that are intended to be done although some of these are hardly blue-prints. Being a man of an earlier generation, I believe that God will help us to tide over our difficulties in spite of some of them being very great and that we will be able to help our people and make them happier than they are now.

Your Highness has referred to qualities that our leaders possess. I have spoken not only to Lord Mountbatten who appreciates and frankly expresses his appreciation of the qualities of our present leaders in the Government, but to more neutral observers, less affectionate statesmen and journalists from other parts of the world. They have cheered me up and told me that some of our statesmen are superior to most of the statesmen of the world, that our leaders have great abilities and what defects we find in the circumstances of our country can be found in other countries in full measure, and we are not worse than those countries. I do not think that they had anything to gain by telling me what they did not genuinely feel. We have every reason to consider ourselves fortunate in the leadership that we possess in this country. Your Highness was good enough to include me among them but I am referring to the government, and not to myself. I hope that things will improve and that our leaders will feel encouraged and cheered in their

work and be able to show the country their capacity and quality.

We have unfortunately had to deal with unexpected difficulties. That we had not anticipated them is not the fault of the difficulties. It is our own fault. It was obvious that we should have freedom. It was equally obvious that we could not have it as long as we were really divided though acting as if we were united. The policy of any foreign power is to take advantage of those points which enable it to maintain itself. It was not the particular vice of the British that they divided and ruled. All governments without the consent of the people governed, will disclose at some point or other the utilisation of this natural force of division. It is easier to rule if you divide. Our previous government did this in a civilized and, I may say, admirable manner. If a man is to be tested whether he really wanted a thing or not, the trial is to make him lose something for it. If we really wanted something, we must demonstrate that we are prepared to lose something for it. In India we lost a great deal because we were absolutely sure of two things—that we wanted freedom and that the other side was not going to give it unless we agreed to the loss of a part. It was in that way that we had to divide India before we could be free and that division was not a division of a map. It was actual division of human beings. It carried with it the necessary corollaries.

If you have to take a dose of quinine, you do not go on chewing it in the mouth in order to take it in. You swallow it. We took this freedom and its corollary without thinking of all the consequences because it does not do to think about a thing which is necessary. Now take my favourite subject—prohibition. There is no difference of opinion on the subject that prohibition is a good thing. Yet when it is enforced, a few thousands of men must be out of employment. They must go out of work and you will have to provide for them. For that reason we cannot say let drink go on. Every institution in this world, from the very best to the very worst, has its corollary. If a State has to be reorganised, many people have to be put aside as many Princes have been. If democracy is a good thing, many honest people born in families of Princes and who expected to be Princes suddenly find that they are not sure of their position. There is a great deal of injustice in any change. I say all this in order to lead up to this, that this freedom has brought in its train many unfortunate corollaries which we must tolerate and

go through in a cheerful spirit. It is no use saying the old order was better or somebody should have invented some method of easily making these changes without all this difficulty. It is just impossible. Many changes took place in this land of ours, many populations were moved up and down, and many political as well as social changes took place, with a train of misfortune, trouble and sorrow. I do not want anybody in India to think that we are less fortunate than our forefathers. I do not want anybody to imagine that we are having undeserved misfortunes. We must go through all these things and we must go through them cheerfully.

I plead for patience. We have got a great thing and the price we have paid and are paying is not too much for what we have got. Our leaders must be trusted to go through with them. And I hope with Your Highness that everything will get well. The States have been brought together in a magnificent manner. We should pay a great compliment to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. We must appreciate what has been done with so much skill, energy and single-mindedness of purpose. But I should not let all the honours go to him. I must give part of the honours to the Princes themselves and if he were here I am sure he would have himself said what I am saying now. The most difficult thing is to give up, and have not all the Princes shown the greatest capacity to give up a long-enjoyed privilege? It is more difficult to give up privilege than property. Some have held back longer than the others. Your Highness may justly claim that Baroda was the first State to accede. Your Highness apparently had no great attachment to the illusion of sovereignty and could see at once the wisdom of being part of a united whole rather than being in conflict with the whole of India. The others did not see it. But when they did give up the privilege ultimately, I appreciated it all the more. Most of the Princes—all barring one—had agreed gladly to accede when things were explained. They have really unified India and I say this not for the sake of form. I feel and maintain that the Princes who have co-operated in this unifying work have contributed a very great deal to this admirable achievement.

I congratulate Your Highness and Your Highness' brothers in the other States of India on this. If Europe had the wisdom of the Indian States Rulers, there would be peace in the world today. There is something good in everything, but there is nothing like wisdom in Europe being divided. The Princes in India have been backed by their

people when they acceded to the Union. The people were already one and felt they were one. It became necessary for the Princes to see the thing at once.

Your Highness has set an example not only in accession but in good government also. Your Services are well organised. The Services are good, the people are good with a long tradition of good government, and there is public spirit. The highest degree of culture already prevails in Baroda. Dr. Jivraj Mehta is a very remarkable person and Your Highness is right in feeling that your State is lucky that he could be spared to guide its affairs during this transitional stage. We required a man with a scientific approach towards things, level-headed and with a variety of experience.

I am sure that Dr. Jivraj Mehta and his successors will find great assistance in having such an enlightened ruler who can command the help of the traditional loyalty of the people and devotion almost akin to religious devotion. I have heard it with great pleasure that in anticipation of the difficulties arising out of shortage of food and failure of crops, Your Highness has placed Rupees ten lakhs at the disposal of your government from your own privy purse to be used for relief. If the waters of a river are accumulated in a reservoir and saved from too rapid evaporation or from being lost into the sea, do not be jealous of the bund that is round the reservoir. One day the water will flow down to the fields to irrigate them. In the same manner do not be jealous of the privy purse which the Princes keep. This privy purse will necessarily have to be opened up, as His Highness has shown the way in the present case. Who can bear famine and misery among the people and still keep the gold to himself?

I was very delighted to learn as soon as I landed here that a law has been passed by the Legislature here to throw open all temples to the Harijans. Most people of my generation know that it was His Highness' grandfather that had initiated this reform. He was probably one of the first in India to think about such reforms. Proclamations had been issued from time to time throwing His Highness' own temples open even before other people's temples were thrown open. It could not be tolerated that some people should be differentiated from the rest of the community in a vital matter like religion. There was no cruder common-sense than Gandhiji's in this matter. He insisted on this

reform because he felt and knew that this was very necessary from the commonsense point of view. I specially congratulate the people and His Highness because I have been very much attached to this reform all through my life.

I have been talking to the Yuvaraja sitting on my right. It is not easy even for an old man like me to have a young gentleman by my side and to be able to tell him that I knew his great grandfather. Now His Highness' grandfather was one who was greatly respected by front-rank leaders of India of those days. I still vividly remember him presiding at the Industrial Conference at the time when the National Congress was in session. He was reading the address at the conference, with Gokhale, Pherozshah Mehta and other leaders admiring. It is not every dynasty that can claim great ancestors like Your Highness' in modern times. I have no end of admiration for the great figures in Mahratta history, the Peshwas, Sivaji, Scindia and all of them and I wish often I had been a Mahratta myself to be able to claim that history as my own. In modern times, the greatness of Princes has been shown in different ways and his late Highness Sayaji Rao was one who continued to inspire his dynasty for all time and I hope that the young Prince on my right will in due course of time develop those qualities. The achievements of Baroda are very great. In some respects you are in advance of other parts of India. Now that the States are united with India, there is much to learn from one another. There are many things which the Provinces, as they are called, have to learn from the States. There should be free exchange of efficiency and statecraft in the coming years.

I thank Your Highness again and all the Ministers for the very cordial manner in which you have received me and for all the kind words that have been said by Your Highness. We will now drink to the health of His Highness with all the heartiness which you showed in reference to my own self.

THE LATE PRINCE FATEHSINH RAO.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of the late Prince Fatehsinh Rao in Baroda on October 24, 1948 :—

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me great pleasure to have the honour of participating in this function. His Highness is following the tradition of our Dharma in honouring the memory of his father.

We may acquire a great deal of modern knowledge, but we shall not do justice to our large population in this huge country unless we maintain old traditions. We can no more discard ancient tradition and culture than we can discard grass in favour of wheat and rice. Whatever grains or fruit we may grow, we would all perish if there were no grass. The grass is like the tradition and culture that we have inherited. Let us bow down and worship the grass that supports life. Let us bow down to tradition and the general culture of our land and let us maintain humility.

This statue reminds us of a lotus that was plucked away before it blossomed. It is difficult to say whether a full-blown lotus is more beautiful or one which has not yet blossomed. The ignorant cannot see beauty unless the flower has blossomed in full, but poets and wise men enjoy its beauty even if it has not blossomed. Remember that the person whose statue I have had the honour of unveiling was the son of a very great man and was the father of your present Maharaja. I had the privilege of seeing His late Highness, his father, with my own eyes. Those who led the national movement in those days admired, honoured and respected His late Highness. All links in the chain are necessary and must be respected. Here is a link which was sadly broken off before its time.

It gives me great pleasure to feel that there was some South Indian blood in the Yuvaraja's veins whose statue I have now unveiled. The mother of the late Yuvaraj who passed away before ascending the throne came from Tanjore, a great place of Indian culture. I know the family and I shall have the pleasure of conveying to them that I had the honour of unveiling this statue and maintaining the spirit of the dynasty which once played its great part in history.

It is easy to take part in current politics. It is very difficult to realise past history. The dynasty whom we are honouring today through this statue played a great part when there was confusion and trouble in the country. How many of you could have gone into a new country and started a kingdom and founded a dynasty? It is difficult to maintain order even in a gathering such as we have today, large as it is, but the troubles which India had when the dynasty was founded were infinitely greater. The brave, resolute and wise men who founded dynasties in those days and spread and established law and order are worthy of respect. History does not consist of events and dates. We understand history through

the intelligence and imagination of our minds. Every picture and every statue that you see of the old heroes of India ought to bring before your minds the deeds they performed. If you find a pencil or a carriage that those heroes used, you are lost in admiration and you appreciate and value those mementoes greatly. Surely you must respect their children more than the pencils and the trifles that they just touched.

I give my best wishes to the State and the people. Calmness and wisdom are essential for organising happiness in a free country. If we do not have calmness, mutual consideration or self-restraint, freedom will become a jungle and will not be a garden. It is in our power to make a jungle of India or a garden of India. A garden means self-sacrifice and self-restraint. If we go on fighting with one another, what we shall produce will only be a jungle and not a garden. Even in a small family the wisest and the most patient of parents give up some of their children as hopeless. Let us not therefore despair when a few people remain unsocial. The most troublesome children can be brought round if we show patience and affection. I sign again the old prescription that only love conquers all diseases. I sign it as a new doctor, but it is an Ayurvedic prescription. It is a prescription in Ayurved, a prescription in the Upanishads, a prescription in the Bible and in every religion that man has discovered or conceived. Cultivate love and mutual affection and leave the rest to God

CIVIC WELCOME AT GWALIOR.

His Excellency the Governor-General received an address of welcome from the citizens of Gwalior on October 25, 1948 and in reply said :—

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am very grateful to you all for the kind words of welcome read on your behalf by the Chairman. The last time I came to this historic city, your Maharaja Sahib was blessed with an heir-apparent. Now I come for the first time since India attained freedom. This also is as auspicious an occasion. I have come to give you the best wishes of the Government of India and the leaders of the nation.

A hundred years ago the rulers of your State faced problems of one kind. They did well during those times. The rulers of your State have a great place for all time in the history of India. We have got to face problems of a new

kind now. It is now for us, common folk of the State as well as of India, to play a good and satisfactory part in solving our present difficulties. Sometimes we had to fight, sometimes we had to negotiate, now we have to build. Our work now may well be compared to the work of putting up a dam to stop the waters so as to irrigate the fields. The waters of patriotism should not be allowed to run into the sea. The waters of patriotism are very violent and strong, but unless they are dammed, the country will not benefit. Patriotism comes from the blessing of God. It is like the Ganga that came from Heaven. The Premier of your Union is like Siva who takes the weight of all the waters. He must take it over and give it to the people.

You know very well that none of us is as strong as Siva, but we have all got a part of Shivji in us. If we are pure and determined, we have Shivji in our hearts. May your patriotism rest well in the tangled hair of Shivji that you have now.

We must not now think of our own individual, personal interests. We must think of the people as a whole. The worst of us can become good, if we all pray to God and make up our minds. Those whom we consider to be bad people are only a little confused in their understanding. If God blesses, bad people can become good people in a moment. If we quarrel among one another, we shall not be able to do anything. We can quarrel with one another if it is our own private business. But we should not quarrel with one another when it is national business. The nation will not prosper and we cannot wait.

If in this hot sun you can sit and present this welcome to me in such an orderly manner, you can do everything else that is required for the good of your State. That is only a symbol of the national determination that we shall maintain order throughout India. We have now got freedom and we must now build up order. I am sure you will play your part in your State. More than one State have joined together to become one. The immediate temptation is for the units that have come together to show mutual jealousy. That is a temptation which we should avoid. A small family will be ruined if the members composing it are jealous of one another. If it is difficult for the representatives of the States to come together, how can the whole of India be together? Are you going to set an example of co-operation or are you going to prove that we people cannot be united? I beg of you—and you may take it I have come here specially to give you this message—that we should be united

in all our endeavour. If a man's hands and if a man's legs do not work together, he has to be put in an ambulance car and sent to the hospital. If people who form one united Union of States do not work together, they will have to be sent to a hospital.

The curing of a government is much more difficult than the curing of a human body. If a man is in bad health and if the arm or leg is bad, we may even cut it off and the surgeon will put it all right. But if Governments or people begin to be jealous of one another, we cannot cut them up. I beg of you therefore to be united and to think not of individual or family or community or state but to think only of the Union and of India. If you quarrel with one another, I will have to come here once every six months and I may have to send cruel doctors every month and the people who will come here to put you right will not be as good as I am. I am a good old man, I am a sort of father to you all. So I am giving you this advice. Take my advice and do not stand in need of more cruel doctors.

I thank you very much for your kindness once more. I shall not detain you in this hot sun and I give you my best wishes to be wise and good, and I ask you not to tell any untruth. If you only speak the truth always, everything will be well. Raise your hands now that you will all try your best to be truthful and remember this is a temple of God. To raise your hand is to pledge yourselves to be honest and good. In order to lead you, I raise my hand and I give you my best wishes.

BANQUET AT JAI VILAS PALACE.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Banquet at Jai Vilas Palace, Gwalior on October 25, 1948 :—

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,—

I must congratulate His Highness on the survey that he has made of recent events. It is true that we have been able to get through many difficulties and dangers and what remains is not likely to prove insuperable. His Highness has expressed just appreciation of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the most remarkable and successful completion of the task which he took upon himself. It was a very difficult task which none but the brave would have undertaken in the prevailing circumstances, and he has fully demonstrated the

reputation he had achieved already for courageous and firm patriotic endeavour. God has blessed his effort with success.

You may not all understand what joy it gives me to see an old colleague appreciated among all circles for the work he had undertaken. It is 29 years now since he and I came together in the work of the country. I vividly remember what Gandhiji told me in 1919 at Madras. I had not met Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at the time. Gandhiji told me in language of great satisfaction what type of man he was and I remember very well the words he used. 'You should know him', he told me one day early in the morning. I met Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel soon after and ever since then, many have been our common tasks. He has been made a target, as must be expected of any man of action, of many people's anger and criticism during these ten years. But I knew his ability and his character and could see how wrongly sometimes people understood him. For instance I might tell you that many people think, even after considerable experience of him, that he is a very hard man. Nothing is farther from the truth. Your Highness and others here do not know him. It would be truer if I described him as a soft man. Indeed, I often used to tell Gandhiji that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was almost feminine in temperament, in his firmness of attachment and devotion and quick understanding of feeling, and Gandhiji used to say, 'Yes, it is true'. These two traits you will find in Sardar Patel although he may not have a soft appearance. He is sometimes called the iron man and he tries to look harsh too. But as a matter of fact, he is very different from all that. So it gives me great joy when I see him and his work so much appreciated by all people.

There was so much caricaturing in the international press about the number of Indian Princes and the number of States that Sardar Patel's achievement is now fully appreciated. But do not make the mistake of thinking that it is only his achievement. If it had been so, it would have been an achievement merely of power or diplomacy. It is not that, as His Highness has very rightly pointed out. As I said at Baroda, not only was it the achievement of Sardar Patel, but it was the achievement of the Princes—achievement in the fullest sense of the word, for what greater achievement can there be than parting with power? Many of us know how difficult it is to part with money. Power is more difficult to part with than money. When so many Princes of India parted one by one with power, I considered

it a great achievement, even more than any achievement in diplomacy, skill or statesmanship. Indeed, I warmly appreciate the courage and the unanimity which the Princes showed in this matter. The Princes lost nothing and there need be no regret for the step taken. But even where one does not lose or where one gains, men are not ready to make sacrifices. Even religious-minded people find it hard to part with what they have. So the fact that in my opinion the Princes are gainers in having parted with their power, does not detract from the value of their sacrifice.

Let me in passing remind all Your Highnesses that in paying our compliments we do not overlook the demand for accuracy. It is not as if a magic wand of great statesmen brought this about, which would otherwise not have come about. I want to remind you that when the scheme of federation was before the country some years ago, there was no doubt in the minds of any of the people in India or England, to whatever school they belonged, about the accession of all the Princes in India. No one questioned the desirability of federation and no one expected that any Prince would keep away from it. There would have been nothing remarkable if we had accepted the constitution that had been offered by the British Government earlier, and the Princes had federated without a murmur. Everyone, including Kashmir and Hyderabad, would have joined the Federation. What then was the peculiar difficulty which subsequently cropped up? The difficulty cropped up because of what the British Government did in the interval. They declared that if the scheme of Federation did not get through and if Britain retired from India altogether, then everyone of the 560 odd Princes would be His Majesty of such and such kingdom. They declared a false doctrine, created false ideas in the minds of the Princes and created new difficulties which had not existed at the time the Federation scheme was before the country. That made the situation infinitely more difficult. Therefore it is that we appreciate and admire the work done by the States Ministry under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's leadership and the Government of India. It makes us see the greatness of the achievement.

There is a tendency in the minds of some people to feel that something has been lost. I remember very well a friend among the Princes who was telling me the other day "Well, with merger everything is gone, what more is there?" When I was trying to argue that nothing had been lost, he failed to see the point. He thought much had been lost.

That is natural because, in all our affairs, nothing plays so important a part as illusion. There is illusion at every step. The rulers that have handed over power to the people have done what they had always been saying and emphasizing they would do. It was only the pace that was in question. They had always been saying they would part with power, federate and become part of India. Just as a seed becomes a plant and a plant becomes a tree and the leaves of the tree fall in autumn and fresh leaves are born, in the same natural way what has happened has happened and nobody should imagine it is anything out of the way. It was both natural and right.

I wish all Your Highnesses prosperity and joy in your lives. I wish you all to realise the greatness of the transfer of power to the people. Our people are not yet up to the mark. It is no revealing a secret if I confess here that they are not up to the mark. But nobody can be up to the mark unless he goes through trial and training. Training for democracy is as hard as training for rulership. We read history, but we simply are unable to apply our imagination to understand it. History is not a matter of memory or reading. We are apt to forget that motor cars did not run in those days and there were no post offices. I have the greatest admiration for people who established order in those days. That is why people think I have a soft corner for the ruling Princes. How could I not have a soft corner for the children of such great people who did many things in those difficult days?

We are living in new times when everything is different. The present Ministers here as elsewhere have not merely undertaken the responsibility which hitherto rested on the shoulders of the Princes, but they have undertaken to get by consent what the rulers' ancestors got by force in those days. We have to educate the people from the bottom to the top if the new work which we have undertaken is to succeed. It is like teaching trigonometry to a peasant. He knows how to walk up a hill, but it is quite different to measure it through trigonometry. It is a difficult thing to teach our people to govern themselves. They know how they should be governed but they do not know how to govern. It is a hard task. The Princes will watch your efforts. On the one hand I want appreciation of the Princes' position. I also want the Princes to appreciate the difficulty of the people and the popular Ministers. The Princes may imagine, looking from a distance or from an

isolated position, that everything was better in their days and now there was neither order, discipline nor efficiency. They may think the new Ministers do not get things done as quickly as they used to do. In the old days it was a case of command and obedience. Now you must get the consent of the people. It is as different as electricity is different from steam or steam is different from a bullock cart.

But I claim Your Highnesses' sympathy and co-operation in the work of the Ministers. Your Highnesses can put your capital, so to say, in this new business. If you help the Ministers with the force of the weight and prestige of your previous connection with the people, it will help them considerably. Supposing the Food Minister in the Madhya Bharat Union goes out for procurement, I would ask His Highness or whoever the Ruler in that particular area, to go with the Food Minister and appeal to the people to help in the good cause and not watch as if it was fun how the new administration manages the food situation. I would appeal to the rulers, their representatives or their descendants to put forth all their influence and get the people to do the right thing in such matters.

I was struck by the way in which the loyalty of the people was demonstrated in this City when I was last here. Both His Highness and Her Highness were away. But the glad news of the birth of an heir-apparent spread. There were processions and festivities, with people carrying presents to the palace. I could see what influence the Royal Family had over the people. Today when I came to Gwalior I saw too what fine soldiers people here make. The people here are therefore first-class material. You can all put your shoulders to the wheel, get together and work as a team, dividing the responsibilities of the task among yourselves. If you do that, much can be achieved.

I would appeal to His Highness as well as to his brother-Princes for their co-operation in the new set-up. In Delhi I do not do any work worth mentioning in relation to the government. No portfolio has been given to me. I am as His Highness now is in the Madhya Bharat Union. But I am quite happy and content. Do I not co-operate with the government? Do I not make the work as easy as possible for the government? In the same manner I want not only His Highness but every Prince in India to act as I do. I want you to be as helpful to your Ministers as I am

to my Ministers in Delhi. You should help the Ministers and work as if it was part of your business.

Lord Mountbatten had a very soft corner for all the Princes and States. He tried to infect me particularly with the same amount of consideration which he had for the Princes. When I see firm and stable Ministries getting on well with the Princes, I feel greatly pleased. My impression is that in Gwalior everything is going on well in this new Union. However, when two or more territories are brought together, there is a certain amount of feeling. Villagers may quarrel—in my part of the country they even go to violence. That sort of petty reaction to minor details will try to show itself, but you ought not to attach any importance to it. I was very glad to see here smooth working. Similarly I saw in Rajkot a very stable and efficiently run State. On the whole, the States are doing well. I would advise you therefore to do all in your power to give the Ministries that have now taken over responsibility a good chance. Then God will help us. Most of our troubles are over. Our strong intuitive feeling will soon settle whatever still remains. People are impatient for immediate advantages and improvements. We cannot complain. After all it is the desire that produces the effort. There is urge for action and once we educate the people to realise that their co-operation is essential in achieving a thing, this impatience will be a help instead of a hindrance.

I thank you all for this hospitality. There is no object in drinking this cold stuff! The stage has come when it will be much better to give up the present practice of 'toast'. What we really want is to meet in order to extend a few words of welcome. I hope next time I come here, we may get along in a different way. Let us get back to culture where there is no backward movement.

GWALIOR GARDEN PARTY.

Replying to the speech by the Honourable the Premier of Madhya Bharat at the Garden Party at Jiwaji Club Grounds, Gwalior on October 25, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR HIGHNESS, MR. PRIME MINISTER AND FRIENDS,—

This is the second time I have come to this historic place. This time I have not come in my personal capacity. Constitutions may change, but our traditional culture does

not change. As soon as a man like me comes, all the oratorical powers of friends are exercised and poured upon him. I could contest every statement the Premier of Madhya Bharat has made about me. You have demonstrated your affection to me according to old pattern—that is all that I make of the compliments addressed to me.

I have come to convey to you the solid sentiments of the Government of India towards the States which have newly become integrated. Blessings serve some purpose—they encourage and inspire. But it is your own strength and your own character which ultimately will have to accomplish things. If you rub a piece of wool on glass, electricity is produced. But the electricity is induced out of what there already is in the glass and wool. We plough a field. But it is what is in the field that blooms. The plough does not put anything into the earth. What I or others may tell you may look grand and may encourage and inspire you, but it is your own character, industry and ability that must bear fruit. If therefore, the Rulers, Ministers and ordinary people of Madhya Bharat, wish to know whether they can do something for future India, they must look back into history and see whether their own fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers did not do much. If our ancestors were great, we too have the capacity to be great. When this part of the country was in disorder, the rulers that came here and introduced order were great people. Instead of those people, their sons and grandsons are here. Today the circumstances demand a different kind of work and I am sure you will do it. The history of this city and fort, and of the people here is ample guarantee that you will be able to serve India well. You are not Madhya Bharat simply because you are territorially in the middle of India. You have to be a central inspiration for all India.

We are passing through a great revolution. We are displacing authority by popular will. Till now order was based on fear and force. Now we will have to maintain order through consent. It is usual for observers to say that discipline has slackened after freedom had been secured. That is because there is a change-over of the foundations from force to voluntary agreement. If we were true to ourselves and restored discipline and maintained it through agreement, it would be better and more reliable discipline than any that we have hitherto had. It is like a house standing on its own foundations and not supported by props. You should maintain good relationship with everybody. Do not let the new power intoxicate you.

SCINDIA SCHOOL.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Scindia School, Gwalior, on October 26, 1948 :—

MR. PRINCIPAL, YOUR HIGHNESS, AND MY DEAR BOYS,—

Your Principal has dealt with the very difficult subject of Government in the branch of education. I shall not worry you with those problems.

Education is not filling your kit bag with all that you want in life. If you go on a railway journey and fill your kit bag with all you need for a month, it will burst or the stuff will perish on the long journey. It is better to know how to cook your food from things out of the bazaar than to have cooked food for a month in your kit bag. Similarly you will have to find things and make things yourselves wherever you can. In life you must cultivate the capacity to think rightly, to act properly, and to be alert. The school teaches you all this and if you profit by it either at home or in the school or anywhere, you are lucky.

I shall deal with all the subjects which the Headmaster has presented to me in course of time and as occasion arises. I cannot deal with them here at all nor are they interesting to boys. The boys should not be worried about the methods of education. All methods are good. Nature is so good that whatever mistakes governments commit, whatever mistakes Headmasters and Principals commit, or teachers or parents commit, boys grow up all right. Long ago our parents were so careless, our teachers so bad and our governments so horrible that we would have all died. Luckily nature is strong and we were able to thrive in spite of those difficulties. Therefore do not worry about the methods of education or about the problems which the Principal has presented to me. Carry on and you will somehow or other get on. My best wishes to you all.

SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at Ram Lila Grounds on the occasion of the 65th Death Anniversary of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj, on October 31, 1948 :—

Our religion was founded by and added to from time to time by some of the greatest souls that ever walked this earth. Their one passion was the quest of truth. They dug

into the mysteries of mind and matter with a will and an energy and a poise of reason and emotion unsurpassed by any other people in the world. It is our special good fortune to be born to such a rich inheritance. If instead of using and benefiting by an inheritance, we feel it to be a millstone round our neck, no one but ourselves is to blame.

Truth is one and eternal. But by reason of the natural limitations of the human mind, it is discovered by us only in parts. At any given moment there is a sum-total of knowledge which has to be collected and synthesised without prejudice or passion. A continuous re-adjustment is necessary so that the sum of Truth in our possession at any given time may be combined into a whole. Previous conquests over darkness handed down to us will serve as safe stepping stones and not hinder, if we do not erect impassable barriers between old and newly-found knowledge.

To integrate ancient truth and modern knowledge is the only way to life in the fulness to which we are entitled. Ancient wisdom should not be treated as a thing apart from modern Truth. Just as the material wealth of our forefathers has merged into our own resources, so also must the moral wealth inherited from them flow into and become one with modern truth and wisdom. Ancient and modern are not like two different valleys divided by an impassable ridge, but one continuous territory, the one imperceptibly passing into the other. If we look back with imagination and clear sight, we can easily see that there was no point of time where the ancient ended and the modern began. It was one continuous flow of time, that is, of human activity.

There is no reason whatever why the religion of the Hindus should in any respect be unsuitable for modern times. Our forefathers could not and did not intend to provide for all time. They gave us more than the forefathers of any other people ever gave to them. They left a tradition of wise conservatism for ensuring continuity of culture. The safeguard is for providing against decay and destruction. They did not prohibit re-adjustment to modern knowledge. Failure to re-adjust must lead to decay and destruction. It is our own fault, not that of our forefathers, if we misinterpreted protective conservatism into a death-trap for truth.

Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati was among our people a hundred years ago. The religion of our forefathers was at that time sore pressed by modern science on the one

hand and by Christianity on the other. The chronic attack of Islam was also there. The fault was not in the Rishis who gave us the Vedas and the Upanishads but in us. The Maharishi diagnosed the disease and he treated the cause surgically, by a process of bold excision. In this his method differed from that of some other great men, for example Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who applied an all-embracing tolerance and understanding which dissolved all barriers and made the crudest parts of Hinduism as good as the highest. The goal is the same, but the approaches differ.

Swami Dayanand's soul rebelled against the idea of Hinduism being relegated to a status of unsuitability to modern times. He strove by a process of merciless chopping off, to make the ancient forest habitable for modern life. Let us not convert the result of his labour into another obstinate sect; but rather, let us understand the purpose and meaning of his noble effort and strive to fulfil it as he wanted it, *viz.*, to make Hinduism a habitable tenement for progressive, modern life, a religion whose culture, tradition and tenets make no compromise with evil, and offer no impediment to human progress. If there is one religion that followed the scientific method in the search for spiritual truth, it is the religion of the Upanishad teachers. If the rishis were told that out of deference to them, new knowledge would be kept apart and their teachings would be protected in isolation, they would have been shocked. They would have condemned it as the greatest act of heresy in the worship of truth.

The present phase of Hinduism is a period of re-absorption and integration of all reforming sects. It will of course mean a certain amount of self-effacement of denominations. Pride is the enemy of truth as well as of human welfare. Swami Dayanand's aim can be fulfilled only by re-absorption of his reforms as well as of the Sikh Gurus, the Brahma Samaj and all others into Hinduism as a whole. Truth is automatically self-effacing. This is the very nature of truth. If any reforming school resists this self-effacement and seeks to live apart from that which it is its function to reform, thenceforward it begins to rot and decay. The unreformed may indeed prove better than the isolated reformer-denomination, for age gives a power all its own. Swami Dayanand's teachings have permeated wide and a stage has been reached when they can no longer form a denomination apart, but must live in the soul of Hinduism itself. And this has been the trend of thought and of action on the part of all Arya Samajists.

INDIAN ART EXHIBITION IN GOVERNMENT HOUSE

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the opening of the Indian Art Exhibition in Government House, New Delhi on November 6, 1948 :—

MAULANA SAHIB, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It is a great privilege you are giving me today. This collection is the fruit of the labours of many eminent men and women who have spared no pains in assembling together from various parts of the country carefully selected works of art representing various periods of Indian history. It is my duty on this occasion to express, on behalf of the people and the Government of India, our grateful appreciation of the labours of the Committee which was presided over by Her Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces, Srimati Sarojini Naidu. The experts' work of search and selection has made this exhibition not only interesting, which any art collection is bound to be, but also most instructive.

I am very glad these halls have been temporarily put to some good use, and far from being entitled to any thanks for that reason, I must offer thanks to the Honourable the Education Minister. I should like the Government to consider ways and means of making this Exhibition a permanent collection for educational purposes and to obtain the requisite permission from the various authorities and individuals who kindly lent the exhibits.

Maulana Sahib has explained how these exhibits enable us really to understand the history of our land. We can see in these exhibits the greatness of past efforts in the field of art in India and with imagination we can build up the national life that gave birth and scope to such art. We may thereby find inspiration and hope for the future. The past is always beautiful and glorious for we see only achievements, and the dreary spaces that intervened unfilled by achievement are necessarily cut out from the picture. In the present on the other hand we are far too conscious of the empty spaces and are prone to underestimate achievement. Still it would not be wrong to say that several causes have contributed to the present times being relatively barren.

For a people to produce works of art there must be very real and sustained emotional power moving people's hearts, faith, love, devotion or the like. The men who built or painted or carved, whose art we admire, carved, painted and built as they did because they had an intensity and

genuineness of feeling and faith, which we do not possess now. How can men who do not have the feeling do what feeling alone can produce? We can copy, we can measure and reproduce, but creative art requires genuine faith which, alas, we now do not have, however much we may pretend.

We see in figures and paintings, curve, anatomy, colour and all else, but we cannot produce things of art unless there is in us the faith that was in those who in former days produced these things. How can the unbeliever produce a thing like the dance of Nataraja or the Ajanta frescoes? It is impossible. Could any man on earth conceive the dance of Siva if he did not see God behind all the seeming diversities of good and evil in this world? Could anyone paint the Ajanta frescoes if he did not believe with all the strength of his soul in love and compassion, and that man could be saved through the Lord Buddha? Could anyone build the temples of South India if he did not firmly believe in salvation through the faith of our fathers? We can produce tawdry copies, but we cannot build the original temple or paint the original fresco. Could any have given us the Taj unless he loved as greatly as Shahjahan did? Could anyone plan or build Fatehpur Sikri unless he fervently believed in the unity of all religions and hoped for humanity as Akbar did? To Soordas, Mira and Tyagaraja who sang the songs and composed the music which we enjoy so greatly, Krishna and Ram were utter realities like the things they saw and touched with their eyes and hands in daily life.

Our art has lapsed in the measure of our barrenness of faith and reverence. It is only when love, faith or reverence shines through a picture or a piece of sculpture or architecture that we exclaim, 'How beautiful!' It is not just knowledge of the laws of proportion or of harmony in colour or exactitude of representation. We cannot attain greatness of art for the nation except through greatness of life. We must believe and love and revere truly if we hope and wish to revive art. The utmost we can do otherwise is in landscape painting. Even there we can succeed only to the extent we can approach the sky and the earth, the water and the trees, with the awe and reverence that means religion.

But we have now a new fountain of inspiration in our political emancipation. If we become sincere, we can yet achieve something in art. We can see in this exhibition that we have inherited a very sound foundation of culture

and art on which we can build worthily. To achieve anything great, we need a vision that is straightforward and honest. I think we are getting to it. There is a tremendous amount of literature on art in various fields, most of which ordinary people like me cannot hope to understand, although I think I do appreciate and enjoy good painting, good sculpture, good architecture and the like. Even the jargon of metaphysics is not so mystic as some analytical art criticism that I have tried to read and have given up as hopeless. I have a notion that art criticism flourishes and grows in the inverse ratio of art itself. It is true as much of art as of literature that genius has often to struggle against learned criticism to get a chance to find expression and present itself. I may take this occasion to put in a public plea for kindness of approach towards creative effort in art. This Exhibition is a lesson in the history of India. It is also a great lesson in politics and statesmanship. It is a collection that will also help the progress of art itself.

I have great pleasure in declaring this Exhibition open.

AT THE DELHI ROTARY CLUB.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at lunch with the President and Members of the Delhi Rotary Club on November 11, 1948 :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

The manner in which the President has introduced me is embarrassing. I am just as good or as bad as any other citizen in India and that is why I am entitled to be the first citizen of India also. If I had been superior to others, I should have been put aside in favour of an easier model!

Having disposed of the claims made on my behalf by the President, I must tell you what I feel about lunches and dinners in general. They are a bit tedious, in my opinion. I fear you all must be feeling the same, only you think it is not proper to say so. But if the first citizen does not speak out frankly, who else can do it? Although lunches and dinners are tedious, they are necessary. Elementary appetites of eating and drinking are the common denominators for all people and so we meet on that basis so that differences may not be emphasised. The Rotary Club, as I understand its object, shares with some other organisations the aim of promoting harmony and fellowship among the peoples of various lands.

I hope the Rotarians will succeed, where others have not found much fruitful result. I feel like many others the need for this kind of work. Even within the borders of our own country we have many differences to overcome. If we solve our difficulties in India, we set a laboratory example for the whole world.

The world is watching us not only because we are very big, right in the middle of the Indian Ocean, strategically occupying a very important position and have got the largest power element with us, namely, population, but also because we are trying to solve problems in which if we succeed, we might be an example to the rest of the world. Most difficulties are illusions. If once we make up our minds on the basis of clear truth, most difficulties solve themselves. Here in our country, for instance, we have divided a territory which was governed by Asoka and Akbar into two political entities. Most people deplore it. I understand even the cricket players deplore it. We have lost some first-class players because of partition. What prevents good players from coming together even though some of them might belong to one territory and some others to another? What prevents people from writing letters to one another even though they might belong to different territories, or from selling and buying? Mutual commerce or friendship is not prevented by the partition of India. Humanity is one and we are trying to rediscover this very old truth through many organisations of which the Rotary Club is one.

We have to learn two things. One is to see ourselves as others see us. Passion and pride disable us from seeing what other people see in us. We should learn to know ourselves more accurately than our own pride or our wishes make us believe we are. We should also learn another thing—we should understand other people placing ourselves in their position. We apply one yard-stick when we measure ourselves, and we apply another yard-stick when we wish to appraise other people. This makes all the difficulties in life and creates misunderstanding. Take, for instance, common political passions. We wish to apply the strict rule of democracy when we are in the majority. When we are in the minority, we wish to apply quite a different rule and appeal to the sacred rights of individuals. We must understand others placing ourselves in their position and understand ourselves as far as possible as other people see us.

We cannot succeed in anything if we act in fear of other people's opinions. We must be open-minded, we should

hear what other people say and give every respect to what they say, but we should stop at respect. Do not get frightened. Do not do anything or abstain from doing anything on account of the fear that other people may not approve of it. Listen with respect to what other people have to say. If you like, change your mind, but do not, without changing your mind, act out of fear. What greater pleasure is there in life than to be bold? In every matter if we try to do what we think is right, everything will go on all right. What I have told you has been said a thousand times before. But it is good to repeat truth so long as we have not reached what we wish to reach.

Thank you very much for giving me the privilege of addressing you.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT SIMLA.

In reply to the Civic Address presented by the Simla Municipality on November 17, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said —

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It is not a mere conventional phrase when I say that I feel it a great privilege to accept your affectionate welcome. I was here a few years ago when the affairs of India were being considered in this cool, quiet place. I have come after a great many things have happened—some good, some unfortunate. The faces of the people are as bright today and shine as affectionately when welcoming a stranger who has been privileged to hold high office as when a few years ago we came here to discuss complicated political matters. Let us not break our old culture of suppressing our difficulties and expressing our joy when we meet one another. It is not always easy for us to reconcile ourselves to the troubles we have had to face. But when we look back a hundred or two hundred years, we see things differently. All that we have gone through will result positively in honour, prestige and joy to our children and our children's children. Much can be suffered for the sake of posterity. Let us trust in God and trust one another.

I am very grateful for the kind words of the Municipal President. Many problems have been referred to in the address. You do not get lost in emotion. You have also an eye to business! You have put forward difficult and

important problems and suggestions. In the old days my predecessors used to get, and they insisted on having pretty long notice for such proposals and they had plenty of time to deal with them so that they could reply. In the new set-up, not only has the Governor-General no authority to speak, but the people also do not give sufficient time to him to consider, concert with others and come with answers. Allowing for the time necessary for transmission of papers your address reached me only yesterday! So you have to be content with only an explanation. You cannot have an answer to the points you have raised in your address.

I very much sympathize with the difficulties you have set out. Who in India does not know that you have suffered not only greatly but something which was beyond any conception? You have suffered literally an earthquake which rent your nerves beyond description. Man's strength is very great. You have borne all those sufferings very well. History will record your suffering and your fortitude in a manner which your children will be proud to read. You say very rightly that the Punjab, and I may add Bengal, have both suffered more than any other part of India for the sake of India's freedom. It was not put upon you cruelly by other people. It was the result of the position you occupied in the unalterable arrangement of nature and the evolution of progress. The composition of population here as in Bengal and the position you occupy in the geography of India, all these resulted in your peculiar sufferings. Please do not attribute it to the callousness of other people or to their cruelty. If in the process of evolution men and women and communities reach a certain position, they have to take it with its joys and glory, its difficulties and catastrophies. For a long time the Punjab had the foremost place in the armies of India. You had the position and the peculiar circumstances which made you a martial people. We must 'take it' as you have put it, not only bravely, but also *gladly*. You have all read the Ramayan. Did Rama shed tears when he went to the forest? If he had not been the eldest son, he would not have had to go through all that trouble. So also you, in a way as the eldest sons of India, have to bear troubles and misfortunes. You should not shed tears. If tears come on account of physical pain, let them come but you should not let it affect your heart. The problem now is what we must do with the future. Do not hark back to what has happened. Let us not try to be as miserable as we can possibly be by reminding one another of the past. God who gives us misfortunes, griefs and troubles, has also given us

the capacity to bear them and to remove sad things from the tablets of the mind. Let us use that talent and forget sorrows and look to the future.

I entirely agree with you, Mr President, that we should have a number of industrial towns rather than develop one very large city as Bengal has done with Calcutta. It is a very great inconvenience that Bengal is trying to overcome on account of the overgrowing size of Calcutta and the absence of attractions in other towns in Bengal. You are quite right in saying that with the natural urge among the village folk to go to towns where they can have trades, professions, colleges, hospitals and modern amenities, they should find an outlet in a number of towns rather than in a single big metropolis.

I cannot answer your question as to the capital of the East Punjab and the various other problems that you have raised. I am sure that the Government of India will examine all these carefully. They will not act in haste or prejudice.

As regards your complaint that the Government should have done well to levy a Punjab tax on the whole of India, let me remind you that the whole of India is paying taxes for all the needs of India including rehabilitation of displaced people. By what name it is called is only a matter of sentiment. Supposing the name you suggest were given to a tax, everybody would feel that thereby they were obliging Punjab or repaying Punjab. People always give unwillingly and their children and others who depend on them complain about levies. There is not much point in naming a particular tax by the name of Punjab tax. Rehabilitation is a necessary charge on the total revenues and it has to be attended to and will be attended to.

Let me say a word generally about the future. I have already said that we should try to forget our sorrows. During the national struggle when everyone united for a particular goal, they united well and forgot their private affairs. They all acted like heroes. There has been some deterioration now but we must bear with it also and carry on. A tree is not quite so beautiful in autumn as it is in spring. Now private affairs are assuming a more real aspect. Many people have suffered so long that perhaps it may be cruelty to ask them to forget their private affairs. Let us not blame one another. It has now become the fashion to blame everybody else but

oneself. Nobody turns his eyes towards himself. Even when in those admonitions and rebukes it is possible to include oneself, they do not do so. They always look at other people and criticize other people. Let us now try and bear with one another and carry on. We are all citizens of this country. It is no use believing that somebody else will do our work. We have to do the work ourselves. If the character of our people has deteriorated to some extent, we must bear with it. We must carry on somehow and make the best of the human material and the resources that we have. That is what the Government of India and your leaders are doing. You must all help them in their task. We are a great people and if we help one another we shall be able to do much more than people think.

There are some who say, "Oh, in the old days everything was good, there was more discipline and greater efficiency. Now everyone is quarrelling and there is more debating than work. The people are poor, the people are hungry. What is the use of this Government?" This is not right or fair. It is one thing to have perfect discipline through mutual agreement, which is the basis of democracy. Through fear you have silence and absolute obedience, but what use is it? It is only if we have discipline when we are free to be indisciplined that we have order by agreement. In the old days we were all disciplined like bullocks yoked to carts. Now we must try to agree with one another. It will take some time. We learn by experience. Rarely we may learn through a great man's precepts and life but mostly we learn from experience. If you see a little indiscipline, be patient. If a father or mother constantly sits near the child and says: 'Don't put your finger in the fire', the child won't know what fire is. Our people will learn efficiency and discipline, by and by, through experience. If you must be impatient, be impatient with yourself. Say to yourself: 'Let me be disciplined'. Don't say to others: 'Be disciplined'. Say to yourself: 'Let me speak the truth'. Don't tell others: 'Do not utter lies'. If you speak the truth, other people will follow. If you are disciplined, other people will copy you.

What I have said may appear to be very general, trite and old-fashioned; but please convert what I say into daily concrete action and you will see how practical I have been trying to be. I have talked from the bottom of my heart. You are people who have suffered greatly and your problems are large and I must talk frankly to you.

MUNICIPAL COLLEGE AT SIMLA.

Declaring open the Municipal College at Simla on November 17, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

To open a place of instruction for the young is something very great. In a few years I shall consider other things smaller and this greater. Knowledge is better than any wealth or possession. Knowledge is better than any fortress or castle. I am very glad that Shri Gopichand Bhargava's name is associated with this college. Let me amuse you by informing you that Bhargava was also my ancestor. Bhargava or Jamadagni was the son of Bhrgu, Parasuram was his son. He was a Brahmin but also a fighter! Let me tell the young people that are gathered here that Bhargava is a great name, and if you wish to make use of this college properly, you must be true to the spirit of Bhargava. I am referring to the great Bhargava, the common ancestor of myself and your Premier. But you must also try to be true to the example of sacrifice, fortitude and strenuous constructive effort which Gopichand Bhargava has placed before you in his own life.

Much can be learnt from books and in class rooms. But true knowledge is something different from book learning. Learning is got in colleges but knowledge is the essence of all that you so learn. I hope the young men and women who will come to this college will get knowledge and not merely learning. Knowledge enables you to distinguish between right and wrong, between small and great, between the permanent and the impermanent. Knowledge enables you to think rightly. You may all be born with talent but schools and colleges help you to get training and discipline which are very necessary.

To the future boys and girls of this college, I give my blessing. Let the boys and girls learn how to behave towards one another. Co-education is very good although we have to be careful. Men and women must meet more often than they do now. Isolation is not good. We should meet not only in schools and colleges but in the home and in the homes of our friends, and at all possible places where there can be social intercourse. It is by not meeting that we increase our difficulties. Woman is a source of trouble, as Mr. Kapur said in his joke, if you keep her at a distance, but if you come together, she is a source of joy.

On behalf of all those that are gathered here, I pronounce blessings on this college. Take good care of it. Remember that I have opened it. Do not let it go down.

BELGIAN ART EXHIBITION.

At the opening of the Exhibition of Belgian Art at the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi on November 27, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

The Belgian Ambassador has given me a very great privilege. It is not often that an exhibition of treasures from such a distant place as Belgium is organised in India. It is therefore a great pleasure for me to see such a distinguished gathering assembled to honour the function. His Highness has truly said that beauty belongs to all nations and that it is very difficult to draw a line in art between countries. Although it is the fashion to speak of schools of painting and art and to draw lines between periods and between countries, I see more unity in the art of all countries and in the art of all periods than probably more learned men can see. Often, concentrated research makes for division whereas ignorance makes for unity.

You will put me down for an ignoramus, yet I will confess that when people speak of different schools of painting, I see only different grades of progress. I confess that when I see a beautiful picture painted by somebody in Belgium or England by the side of a good picture or piece of sculpture of our country, while there is a degree of pride when appreciating the latter, I see beauty in the Belgian picture or in the English work of art as much as I see in the Indian work of art.

It is a great service that His Highness the Belgian Ambassador has done by arranging this exhibition in Delhi. This is the beginning of a movement, as His Highness said, to make India a great meeting place of Western and Eastern art. It is not merely the geographical advantage that India possesses His Highness was referring to. There has been a hundred years of contact in India between Western literature, law, philosophy, science and art and what in those departments we can claim. We have therefore in India a deep impress of Western culture and of Western art which cannot disappear easily. India therefore has a great advantage and I think it can truly be foretold that India will be a centre of Western and Eastern art.

The Belgian Ambassador has started the beginning of a big movement in our country. I convey on behalf of all of us in India, our gratitude to His Highness the Belgian Ambassador and to the distinguished gathering who have honoured this occasion by their presence. I have great pleasure in declaring this exhibition open.

BANGABASI COLLEGE DIAMOND JUBILEE.

At the inauguration of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the Bangabasi College at the Senate House, Calcutta on November 29, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, MR. JUSTICE BISWAS, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,—

First of all let me share with you my feeling of great joy at being once again in this place. I feel I have come home. I do not know why Mr. Justice Biswas thinks that it is a matter of condescension that I should agree to share in this joy. It is a privilege to be asked to speak on an occasion of joy like this. If, because I have been appointed to a particular office, Mr. Justice Biswas thinks that I have become a very precious individual, I must demur. I am the same man that I was before and I shall be the same man when I lay down office and it will always be a pleasure to be given the privilege of inaugurating a function of this kind.

This College was started 60 years ago. The lights that have been placed here represent the number of years the institution has passed through. It is more difficult for an institution to reach the age of 60 than for a mortal to reach the same age. Nature has provided many safeguards in the human system and 60 years can be reached even by a careless man like me. But institutions do not have these safeguards. Unless the men who build it guard the institution against dangers carefully and vigilantly, often institutions die long before 60. I can therefore understand the pride and joy which you feel in celebrating this Jubilee.

The history of this institution is an adventure and a story-book by itself. Boys and girls born in these days do not know what happened or prevailed in the old days. They think that everything was as it is today. In the days when this College was founded, things were very different. Even the founding of a school was a great achievement, and

the history of this particular college has been an achievement all through. I for one cannot imagine how a college of this nature could have carried on without any grant from Government. If I told this to the people of Madras they would simply not believe it. But many miracles are performed in Bengal and this is one of them. It is matter for great pride. But that does not mean that you should not take grants in future. I should very much ask you to go on pressing and getting as much as you can. Otherwise colleges these days cannot have sufficient accommodation and equipment and pay proper salaries to the staff. In the old days a revolutionary institution may have thought that it was not wise to take grants for fear of the strings attached to them. Now no such apprehension need torment you.

This hall is very ancient but whenever I come here, I feel inclined to advise everybody concerned to build a new and convenient hall somewhere else. This is an ancient relic but a very inconvenient place for meetings of this kind. There is more height than audibility, more grandeur than convenience, and more pillars than space. All the people crowded on the road are very angry with us. It is high time that the University and the public of Calcutta devise measures to build a hall worthy of the dignity of the University. These are days of anxiety and I know my proposition is a difficult one, but yet we should have it before us.

I have great pleasure in once again congratulating all those who have built this institution and maintained it and feel a pride in the attainment of the Jubilee Year today. I hope all of you will make the Jubilee festivities a grand success.

There was a great deal of light as well as serious remarks about the name of the college. All names are just accidents. Bangabasi is quite a suitable name. Do not try to change it. Let the name associated with the college all these 60 years continue.

Before I sit down, I wish to tell boys and girls seriously that hereafter you should not think of stopping work either in college or outside it. This function is supposed to invite the blessings of seniors, but the institution wants the blessings of boys and girls. They must be proud of this institution and must maintain the institution in full activity. They must so conduct themselves that the institution may be proud of its name and history. Education has come to mean preparation for a career. But whatever deterioration may take place in either method or motive, the fact

remains that education is intended to prepare men and women for life. The education that we receive in schools and colleges is worth nothing if it does not prepare us for life. It is not a process merely of acquiring knowledge. It is a process of acquiring the method of thinking, of correct feeling and correct action. If they keep this in mind, all colleges and schools, whatever may be their deficiencies, will do good. Remember this is a place where you learn how to think and where you learn how to observe and how to reason. You get a machine tool at the university or college to carry you through life. You do not carry away benches and chairs but tools. You must know how to use those tools. This is very old wisdom oft-repeated.

I appeal to you all to make this college an even greater success than it is at present. This will not be difficult when earnest men and women are here to support it and give the college not only 60 years of sweet memory but another 60 years at least to come. Most of us will have gone by then but some of the young people here will see another Golden Jubilee. Then, I hope, they will remember some of the things said today.

RECEPTION BY SHERIFF OF CALCUTTA.

Replying to the address of welcome by the Sheriff of Calcutta on November 29, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. SEN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I do not think I am accomplished enough to convert this social gathering into a public meeting. I am wondering whether I should concentrate on thanking Mr. Sen for his cordial and affectionate reception or whether I should concentrate on admiring his capacity for organisation. I have seen on more than one occasion how well he organises a welcome reception. This is not merely light-hearted talk. It is my desire that everyone of us should be efficient in all the things that we take up. It is no use being jealous or trying to find fault with one another. All that is negative and serves no purpose except to increase the total volume of pain in this world. What we have to do is to be good and efficient in our work, cheerful in our outlook, and to love, if not all mankind, at least as many as possible.

Can we not try to do this? It is only if we love people and are affectionate that we look well and succeed in life. If we do not have that approach, we repel people, and the

man who repels people cannot succeed in life. I commend to all business and professional men to cultivate mutual affection, it will give good returns in their business and in their professions That is what I have learnt from Mr Sen's example. He never has anything but a smile. He has shown how to make an occasion like this fine and well-arranged. I am very grateful to him for the beautiful little entertainment that he has provided us I think he will permit me to concentrate on appreciating efficiency in the citizen. I am more grateful to citizens for doing their work well than for the personal pleasure or affection bestowed upon me.

I am very glad Mr. Sen acquires a new member to his family. I take it this party is also a part of his son's wedding. You will join with me in giving our best wishes to the bride and bridegroom on this occasion.

BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce held at Royal Exchange, Calcutta, on November 30, 1948 :—

I am very grateful to Mr. Elkins and his colleagues for giving me this warm and encouraging welcome. I am not convinced that I am in a very advantageous position to give advice to people like you. You have common sense, fortitude, much experience and, what is more important, patriotism to guide you. I have no experience in the field in which you are working. Your own experience therefore must be your guide.

I was not expecting to have to address you in the manner in which you have invited me. You may take it for granted that I appreciate the difficulties which industrialists and commercial people feel at the moment, although I have nothing to do with commerce or industry. Do not expect any wisdom from me in regard to your affairs. If you think that what I say is good and if you adopt it as your own view, then act upon it. Do not act on it as borrowed capital and blame me if anything goes wrong.

In commercial circles, British and other non-Indian elements seem to have more confidence in India than the nationals of India. Optimism is the correct attitude. An attitude of hesitation and doubt is not the correct attitude.

It delays things. The Indian commercial and industrial people require education in optimism which people who have come here from outside India can give. I have requested many friends coming from abroad to infect our people with optimism in regard to industry and trade and other things. They know our difficulties and they understand that optimism is required and is justified and they have welcomed my suggestion. I hope you will agree with me that optimism is not only justified but essential and you have a right to infect your brothers in the commercial and industrial field who belong to my own colour with that optimism.

Till recently—till 15th August 1947, to mention a particular date for the sake of convenience—our industry and commerce were under a political system which ensured stability and permanence. It was a Government which was not able to do many things but at least it was able to assure stability and permanency of policy because it was a Government based on authority and not on power derived from the people. They could say that for the next 25 years, you can rest assured that such and such a thing would be the policy, that this could be done and this could not be done. Authority and autocracy were the basis on which you lived and operated.

Since 15th August 1947, we are not living in a placid pool but in a moving river. Our Government is a democratic government, not an authoritarian government. Not only can policy change by a change of Government but on any particular day, a vote of no-confidence could change the Government. Policies have now to derive authority from the people below. Our Government is conscious all the time that it is the people that give the power. From the time we became a Free Government, therefore, it may be said that uncertainty has taken the place of that certainty which was guaranteed by the previous Government.

The British people know how to live and work and invest in democracy. Like a man who knows how to swim in running water, British industrialists know how to live and make investments in democracy. They do not get disheartened by thinking of the possibility of a change of Government or change of policy. They live, work and produce.

Now the industrialists in India and the commercial people in India, some of whom are represented by big

people sitting in front of me, have not reconciled themselves to this new phenomenon. We swam in a pool formerly. We have now to swim and make headway in a moving river. You will not get back the British Government or any substitute of that type. You cannot expect the Government to guarantee permanency of conditions as the old British Government could do. We will have to reconcile ourselves to moving water, that is to say, to policies which continually depend on popular consent and can possibly be changed by a vote of no-confidence at any moment. It is no use my saying that in Delhi it is very cold because, I will continue to be unhappy all the time. What I have to do is to get proper clothes to withstand the weather. That is what the industrialists have to do.

Look at the people who work in Czechoslovakia, for instance. Placed as they are between two political systems, don't they produce machinery, tools, etc.? Don't they have self-confidence and concentration of purpose? You have been complaining, though not very bitterly, about the uncertainties of the policies of the Government of India. Don't think that it is the defect of particular persons. It is the inherent quality of democracy and you must reconcile yourselves to that and work as they do in other democratic countries everyday.

You complain of heavy taxation. It is no use saying that Government must reduce expenditure unless you show where it can and should be done. You cannot say, "let industry and trade be free but wherever there is labour unrest you must send the police there". If you want free enterprise, industry and trade, you will have to take all the responsibility of contented labour. Therefore, friends, do not keep constantly saying: This is wrong, that is wrong, that is not done. You yourselves reduce the prices of your stocks and shares by talking of uncertainty. Things get worse and worse as a result of such talk. On the contrary we must talk the language of satisfaction.

We must get the people and workers to understand that there is a relentless law which governs their own demands. I am addressing industrialists and capitalists and so I do not dilate on matters which I would deal with, were I speaking to a different audience.

Some people say that Ministers make too many speeches. They have to make speeches in democracy. They have to feel the pulse of the people. They have to see what the reaction is. In England too they make many speeches. Only they are not all reported. Here the papers

are full of reports of long speeches from me and others. They make speeches in England at public meetings and in drawing rooms. They have a habit of making speeches at dinners, tea or lunches and during conversation. Only they use simpler language than we do. Democracy will have to be educated by exchange of opinion. How can there be exchange of opinion unless people talk to one another?

The members of Government hold office at the will and pleasure of the people. The Government of India are just tenants-at-will. They will have to behave like tenants-at-will but at the same time like good tenants-at-will. They have to try their best to create relative security. You cannot have absolute security. Democracy means uncertainty of policy. That is my view. As I told you at the outset, take it for what it is worth in your own experienced judgment.

RECEPTION BY WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the reception given by the Women's Association in Calcutta at the Y.W.C.A. Hall on November 30, 1948 :—

DEAR SISTERS,—

I have derived renewed joy in being among you all once again if only for a few minutes. You have met here on behalf of many Associations. I find 22 signatures in the Address of Welcome. As long as we compete with one another in service, there is no difficulty whatsoever. Men's Associations have a tendency to compete with one another in securing something but Women's Associations so far have contented themselves by securing opportunities for service. As long as this continues, there can even be 220 organisations doing full-time work. The city is large, the Province is large, and India is very large and there is room for thousands of organisations like the 22 organisations that have met here today to extend their welcome to me.

Having heard the Address, I am filled with a feeling that I have nothing to say to you. I do not think there is anything in which I can offer you instruction. You are as wise as myself, as good, hopeful and eager to place the country on a high position as myself or anybody else in India. My congratulations on your past work and my best wishes in your future work. Your work in Bengal and

Calcutta in particular, is an example to people throughout the country.

Do not think that there is any difficulty in securing equal rights and privileges for women. Men are only too eager to part with the privileges which they enjoy and share them with you because the sharing of privileges means the sharing of obligations also. You can get the right to be anything in the country—from the Head of the State down to workman. On both sides there is a movement for equality and if equality can give happiness I think you will soon be very happy. But equality alone cannot give happiness. Your field, as I have said often is very sacred, a field in which man cannot successfully serve. You will have particularly to look after the children of the nation. It is not only in the school but in the home that children have to be looked after. They have to be taken great care of in the home if you do not wish them to grow bad or lazy. Therefore the mother has a permanent occupation and that is to be a good mother. All women will have to aim at this. Now this is not throwing cold water on your ambition. This is just a warning or a piece of advice which you may keep in mind while you carry on as you have been doing. All the troubles in the world are due to want of understanding and want of understanding is due to want of affection, mutual contact and loving, helpful service. When that is established by sincere and active women who will work constantly among those who are less happy than themselves, everything will turn out all right. There is a great future before our country and you have a great part to play in it.

SPECIAL CONVOCATION OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Special Convocation of the University of Calcutta for conferring on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law on November 30, 1948 :—

MR CHANCELLOR, VICE-CHANCELLOR, FELLOWS OF THE
UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I was overwhelmed when the invitation was sent to me to accept the Degree of Law by this University. I had never expected that my friend, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the Premier, would launch forth on such a long eulogy of

me I had always thought he was a man of few words and that he would not make any exaggerated statements or deeper cuts than the surgical knife required. I was surprised, although pleasantly, at the very lengthy encomiums which he had chosen to pay.

I am very grateful for all that has been said by him and by the Chancellor. His Excellency the Chancellor and Governor of this Province extorted my admiration when I first met him at Allahabad many years ago on a historic occasion, by his wisdom and patience. I am therefore extremely glad to receive this degree at his hands. No one truly is older or younger than any other. We are all eternal and it is only our bodies that differ in age. I have enough humility to understand the meaning of the words I have used. I say sincerely that I receive this degree at his hands with very great satisfaction. The premier University of India has chosen to confer this great honour upon me. I was greatly overjoyed when I received a Degree of Doctor of Laws from the University out of which I was born. But when one receives a benefit from one's own mother, one does not think that anything extraordinary has taken place. But when I receive a degree from the premier University of Calcutta, I ask myself whether I really deserve all this. I shall not weary you with my thoughts in this direction because in the world of affairs such thoughts may pass for conventional humility. I however know how truly I speak.

It is the Degree of Doctor of *Law* that you have been pleased to confer upon me. "Law" in the singular makes it far greater than "Laws" in the plural. Am I then receiving a Degree of Doctorate in that Law which is the law of all laws, the basis of all life and the meaning and the purpose of all the laws that men pass from time to time in several countries? In our own great language we have a word exclusively set apart for this connotation—Dharma. Am I considered fit by the premier University of India to receive a Doctorate of Dharma?

I am very grateful, profoundly grateful, to God who has enabled me to have lived a life which you consider a sufficient basis for conferring this degree upon me. I have often been tempted to laugh at honorary degrees. As I have a sense of humour I am able to laugh at myself, when these honorary degrees are conferred upon people like me without any great academic qualifications. But on this occasion I must confess that I am thinking in a different way. Ordinary Degrees are conferred

after strict examination and classification. Now at the age of 70, if all that a man has done during his life is carefully examined by critical and good men who are members of a University and if they value my performance as good enough for giving me this great Degree of Dharma, surely I may feel proud. But being somewhat religiously inclined, I attribute it all to God who has enabled me to go through difficulties and trials through a fairly long period in the manner I have done and enabled you to appreciate what I have done.

Thank you, Mr. Chancellor, for conferring this Degree upon me. I tender my thanks to the Fellows and Senators of this University. I shall deem it a great honour and I hope in the few years that are left to me I shall be benefited by the encouragement that you have given me by this Degree. I hope that I shall live worthily during the time that yet remains for me and bring this great University no discredit.

PUBLIC MEETING AT BANARAS.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at a public meeting at Queen's Garden, Banaras on December 1, 1948, after he had laid the foundation-stone for a memorial at the place where Mahatma Gandhi's last remains are kept :—

This large gathering will be very glad to know that I have laid the foundation-stone for a memorial symbolizing Mahatmaji's teachings among us. When any doctrine was enunciated in India by great men, they came to Kasi to explain it. It is therefore fitting that Mahatmaji's memory is preserved in concrete brick and mortar in some corner in Kasi. A doctrine does not consist in stone and brick. It has to be laid deeply and well in our hearts. Mahatmaji's doctrine is very simple—we should love one another. Even if the rest of mankind be mad, the intelligent men and women of Bharatavarsha should love one another.

The greatest teachers and saints were born among us. Sri Rama and Sri Krishna were born in this country. Buddha and Mahatmaji were not born in any other country. Malaviyaji was not born in any other country. People from other parts of the world come to India to pay homage to the great Buddha and to great Gandhiji. It would be ridiculous if we go on quarrelling with one another when people from all parts of the world come on a pilgrimage to the land where

love was taught. How can we tell the rest of the world not to make wars when we are not peaceful among ourselves?

You have given me a great privilege in asking me to place the first bricks of a memorial to Mahatmaji. I have handled bricks before but never for such a good cause. I never thought I would be a mason and a bricklayer in great Kasi. Great must have been my past virtues to entitle me to be a bricklayer in sacred Kasi. When the memorial becomes a reality and you are able to see and touch it, come and worship here. If any communities have anything to quarrel about, they should come here and draw wisdom from the memorial. If you have any quarrel in your village or Panchayat or District Board, worship here and go back. I thought I had also died when Mahatmaji died. But this great gathering is a demonstration that something has still to be done by me.

Thank you for showering affection upon me thereby showing that you still believe in your leaders. I am speaking on behalf of my colleagues and express their gratitude to you. We have attained freedom and I am given an office which must serve as a symbol of that freedom to you all. Just as a little stone in a temple represents Iswar, the whole of Viswa, similarly I represent the State of India. You have to take great care of the State. You can do so only by maintaining peace. May God help us to preserve peace in Banaras and in Bharatavarsha.

MAZHARUL-ULUM ORPHANAGE AT BANARAS.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Mazharul-Ulum Orphanage at Banaras on December 1, 1948 :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me very great pleasure to have done something here in the way of helping orphans. Those who have nobody to look after them must be looked after by some institution. Those who do anything for orphans and who give alms to poor people buy tickets to go to heaven. In all religions this is prescribed and believed, and there is no difference on this point. They may pray in different languages, they may kneel in different ways, but all religions teach that we should help orphans and thereby get nearer to God. I have therefore every reason to be proud of the privilege you have given me of laying this

slab here and thereby promoting the cause of charity and help to orphans.

All orphans to whatever community they may belong are my children and the children of my successor heads of State of India. It does not matter what caps or shoes or trousers they wear. Orphans are the same. In one way orphans are more fortunate. Let not orphans imagine they are miserable. They are looked after by a great State. Governments teach children to be good citizens. May all the orphans who come under the protection of this orphanage be good citizens of India.

I do not know whose inspiration it was, but it gives me great pleasure that on the same day I have laid the foundation-stone to memorialise Mahatmaji's teachings in Queen's Garden, I am here laying the foundation-stone for an orphanage under a Muslim organization. I am not as good a beggar as the illustrious father of my interpreter (Pandit Govind Malaviya). I cannot beg successfully lakhs and crores and build a big University. But may I be enabled to see that this stone that I have laid will have bricks over it and that an orphanage will be established. At the place where I laid the bricks over Mahatmaji's ashes they sang a song which said that Iswar and Allah were the names of God. That song was sung by Mahatmaji thousands of times before he died. He prayed not as we pray, but very sincerely. Most sincerely he sang Iswar and Allah are the names of God and he prayed that men may be blessed with good sense. He has prayed so often and may we not hope that it may bear fruit, and may we also believe that that is why we do not quarrel with one another now? God seems to have turned His face towards us and I think we will not quarrel with one another hereafter. Though I am Governor-General, let me tell you this—let Governments quarrel but let us not quarrel. Let all the quarrels be confined to governments, and let men and women, brothers and sisters, love one another.

My best wishes and blessings to the children that are now in the orphanage and all those who will hereafter come to this orphanage. If I send some orphans when your orphanage is ready, do not refuse admission! I thank all the members of the organization for giving me this privilege and this opportunity to speak to you. It gives me great pleasure to see you all assembled here without distinction of caste or religion, and helping me to perform this function. May this grace of God continue for all time.

AT THE RISHI VALLEY TRUST.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the anniversary celebrations of the Rishi Valley Trust, Banaras on December 2, 1948 :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

An anniversary is a joy but this particular anniversary has been like an oasis so far as I am concerned. All anniversaries provide an occasion for a variation from the normal routine of an institution. Both the boys and girls have, I am sure, thoroughly enjoyed this variation. The arrangements for an anniversary and the programme give as much education as the normal routine instruction in the school or college. Perhaps some might even go further and say that the self-help and the initiative called forth on such occasions give even more valuable education than the normal, fixed curriculum. I think therefore that anniversaries far from interrupting the working year are really very valuable.

I am very glad you have given me an opportunity to preside on this occasion. Mrs. Besant was a great lady. She has rendered invaluable service to India in politics, religion and organization. In the field of education, especially, she has left behind a tradition which I hope will be maintained. There is an atmosphere in every institution that is connected with Mrs. Besant which pleases and elevates. In my imagination, as soon as I came here, I felt I was back in Adyar. It gives me great pleasure to see Mrs. Besant's work kept up. Many things were started by her which require to be kept alive by further effort on our part. I am very grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to pay my tribute to the great lady whom I knew very well and whose passing away was a great loss to our country.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT BANARAS.

In reply to the Civic Address presented to him by the Banaras Municipality at the Town Hall on December 2, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, COMMISSIONER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am very grateful to the members and officers of the Municipal Board of Banaras for giving me this Civic Reception. The problems of Banaras City are very large. It is

necessary to spend a large amount of money to make the place worthy of the great name it bears. Wherever the political and other capitals of India may be, the capital of the spirit of India is Banaras. But the City requires a lot of attention. I could spend a crore of rupees if the money were given to me and I were a dictator. I would spend it on the spirit of religion and the memory of the great men whose dust lies here. What place on earth can be found where men like Sankaracharya and Tulsidas have walked? But what is the good of remembering their names when we allow their precious relics to go to ruin like this? What river can man have as good as Ganga? We get angry sometimes with the Ganga because it gets angry with us. We say the Ganga has trespassed into our grounds while the fact is, we trespass on the Ganga too much. We are so greedy that we walk far too near the sacred river and the river sometimes gets angry. Have we kept the bank of the water and this beautiful city as great as those who founded the city imagined it would be? It can be made the most beautiful spot on earth provided we spend money, that is, provided we work for it. I am not a very ceremonially religious man but I have come to Banaras a few times. Whenever I came, whether fifty years ago or recently, always the thought was how beautiful this place could be made if we were determined. Each time I come, I see only ruined towers and broken-down walls along the river. Truly it reflects the state of our culture.

But the Ganga continues to inspire us. As long as the waters of the Ganga flow, we shall have hope. We will rebuild our greatness. Let us be patient. Let us keep Hanuman before us for inspiration. Let us keep Tulsidas and Kabir and all the people who lived in Banaras before our minds, and all will be well in course of time.

I was very glad to see the calm and joy on people's faces when I came to Banaras. As long as we have wisdom and mutual love in us, we need not give up hope that India will be very great among the nations of the world. Let the politicians, the armies, the administrators and the traders do what they like. If we keep our culture, India will be great. Keep learning going, keep good behaviour with you, and let us have patience with one another.

Thank you very much for honouring me by gathering here on this occasion. I tender my gratitude to all the Councillors.

AT THE HINDU UNIVERSITY.

HIS EXCELLENCY the Governor-General delivered the following address at the Convocation of the Hindu University, Banaras on December 2, 1948 :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, SENATORS OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

First of all I must thank the University for the high honour they have bestowed upon me in token of such appreciation as they have been pleased to show of my services. I hope I shall prove not unworthy of the honour bestowed. As I received the honorary degree, the figure of our beloved Malaviyaji was before my mind's eye with the *chandan* on his forehead like the third eye of Sri Mahadev. I hope that with his blessings I shall prove, as I said, not unworthy of the honour bestowed on me.

I have been asked to speak a few words to the graduates. After the exhortation which the Vice-Chancellor made, uttering the very words of the old Rishis, nothing remains to be said, provided the Rishi's words are understood and assimilated. But it has been customary to invite someone to speak to the graduates on an occasion such as this. The honour bestowed on me is great, but I do not think I shall trouble you with any long address today.

I do not propose to deal with matters usually dealt with at length in Convocation Addresses. My visit, dear graduates, has come close upon that of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He covered very extensive ground in his address when he was here and spoke frankly and impressively. I do not believe it will benefit anyone if I cover the same ground again. I need not repeat his earnest advice for he spoke out of his heart. He is a great man and is entitled by his service to expect you to pay heed to all that he told you. If you do so, it will be all for the good of the country.

Our beloved Malaviyaji built with his own hand and left behind him this great University as a solid and useful memorial of which his people may justly be proud. This University may be called by any name, but it will always be associated with the memory of this great man who built it through untiring effort and force of character. Kasi is a great place. Ganga is a great river brought down from heaven itself, and this place of instruction for youth situated on sacred ground and on the banks of the sacred river should be the subject of special care and concern of all of us but mainly of the boys and girls of India. It belongs to

them. It belongs to *all* of them. It is a national seat of culture in the truest sense. From time immemorial people turned to Kasi for enlightenment and to Ganga for purification, and Malaviyaji has helped to maintain unbroken that tradition unbroken, by founding and establishing this great seat of learning here in Kasi. Let us in the years to come, strive to keep the greatness of the Kasi University undiminished in lustre.

Graduates, Kipling wrote some great verses, but a little poem which he wrote with an 'if' before the lines is one of the finest things ever written. It is English Poetry born out of the Song Celestial of India—

"If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you
But make allowance for their doubting too:

If being hated you do not give way to hating
And yet, do not look too good nor talk too wise:

If you can meet with triumph and disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same:

If you can talk to crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings, nor lose the common touch:

If all men count with you but none too much:

If you can fill the unforgiving
Minute with sixty seconds worth of distance run:

Yours is the earth
And what is more you will be a man, my son!"

I have not given the words exactly, but sons and daughters of Kasi, remember the substance of these lines which is the same as what was said in Sanskrit as the word of God centuries ago by Vyas.

We have done well in attaining freedom and in showing a bloodless way of overcoming wrong. Yet let me touch on some unpleasant things. The processes involved in the attainment of freedom through the method of disobedience have left behind certain less desirable results along with the attainment of the object. These results, like the incidental harm done to the body when you take drugs for

curing a serious disease, have to be corrected by convalescent discipline, by effort and determination amounting to religious fervour and faith.

We have to throw off the habit of disregarding law and authority. The movement of non-co-operation involved the disregarding of law and authority that had been imposed by a foreign government and it has left behind an unhealthy habit. We have to take concerted and determined action to get rid of this tendency. We must restore the unqualified reverence for the State that our ancients cultivated, reverence for law and discipline equivalent to reverence for Dharma that was insisted upon in the old days. In fact we want a revival of feudal manners and chivalry but in terms of modern democracy. Reverence for the State is different from attachment to a party. It is more akin to worship than to party loyalty. The State is different from the majority that rules. Reverence for the State is essential. Otherwise India, vast and composed of heterogeneous elements, cannot grow strong.

Again, as a result of what was done during the days when we applied every means that was available in order to get rid of foreign domination, some of us have developed, I fear, a very undesirable and wide-spread tendency of sabotage. Free and democratic India cannot function in security and prosper and attain strength unless we totally eradicate this tendency to resort to methods of sabotage for attaining some immediate object.

Short-sighted hurry to attain an objective, however good, may lead to great harm being done to the State and society as a whole. It is absolutely necessary to eradicate the habit of destruction and sabotage that were incidental to the revolution. We should revive a reverence—I cannot use a lesser word—a reverence for roads, for bridges, for all means of communication, for the machinery of production, industrial and agricultural. We should automatically and instinctively feel a horror of sabotage as we do when we see any living thing being cruelly killed. Otherwise modern society cannot hope to thrive. Respect for means of communication and means of production must reach the level of religious reverence. We have to rebuild this reverence.

Again, as a result of what happened during the struggle and thereafter, we are in danger of maintaining unless we guard ourselves, a frame of mind and an attitude akin to ill-will against nations other than ourselves and communities other than our own. We have to make a supreme religious effort to maintain and strengthen what

Gandhiji taught, namely the doctrine of unilateral effort in the faith that love will conquer. Being hated, do not give way to hating, as Kipling said. This great doctrine of love and trust, even where you do not get favourable response at once, is the pivot on which all that Gandhiji taught rested. That was the fixed doctrine round which all his great activities turned. If we have no faith in this doctrine of unilateral effort for love, we forswear all the homage we paid to Gandhiji when he was alive.

Do not be alarmed by delays and failures in our national effort. We have not had sufficient time yet. We had to face complicated, unexpected and extraordinary difficulties. Remember that freedom from British rule does not mean freedom from world-opinion. Equal citizenship in the world is a great status. But it carries with it great obligations. The national government of India today is of a quality of which we can be proud. Our Prime Minister's credit among the nations and statesmen of the world is very high. To maintain that high credit and to draw from it we have to be loyal and helpful to him. Our Prime Minister is the beloved of the nation. He and his colleagues have been trying scrupulously to be just and fair to everyone, to governments and to communities, to industrialists and to workers. No people have a clearer conscience than those at the head of the Government of India today. They are just and they have faith in the destiny of India and are working hard. As I have said elsewhere, industrialists should adjust their minds to the necessary uncertainties of democratic government. They must not expect in democracy that certainty of policy which can be got only under an authoritarian government. Policies in democracy depend upon the people's vote which must be taken from time to time and cannot be made the subject of any permanent proposition. Workers must realise that the State is the real employer whatever be the economic set-up in force. Unless wealth is produced, and continuously produced, no government, no management, no employer can find the resources for distributing the means of securing a good life. Wealth and work form the foundation on which the happiness of the community can be built.

We should trust democracy to ensure just distribution and not look to class struggle for salvation. Class struggle means hatred and fouling of the atmosphere and unhappiness for all and submission to the crudest type of tyranny at the end of it. The delays of democracy are after all better than the violence and hatred of class struggle, better for all

concerned There are, no doubt, class struggles going on, whether we like it or not Where there is maladjustment, a fever is a necessary concomitant. But we gain nothing by encouraging or adding to the fever that accompanies a diseased condition We should rather allay the fever even while attending to the root cause. That is the democratic method as distinguished from the method of accelerating class struggle and endangering national life.

Our credit as well as our prestige abroad is high and so is our position in the comity of nations. It is only among ourselves that readjustment is necessary for confidence and co-operation Let us have faith in our destiny under democracy. All will soon be well. Graduates, I give you my best wishes, my own as well as on behalf of the Government of India. May you be enabled to serve the Motherland diligently and with reverence.

ADDRESS BY THE CENTRAL MELMILAP COMMITTEE.

In reply to the address presented to him by the Central Melmilap Committee, Banaras on December 3, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

This is the last gathering that I shall be meeting before I leave Banaras. It gives me great pleasure to see the stress laid by the people of Banaras on unity. Many things have happened which have to be forgotten. It is no use looking back. We have to look forward. Our people have attained freedom, but freedom is a difficult thing to perceive unless we have a high degree of education. Just as it is difficult to see God, it is difficult to see freedom. Just as we pick up some clay from the earth and make an image and see God through it, so I have been picked up from the earth and you have to see freedom through me. I am as far from the liberty that India has gained as the *Murthi* is from God. It is your devotion that can make clay into God. It is your devotion that can give meaning to the office I hold.

It was in India that before anybody else preached it, our forefathers discovered that all denominations and ceremonies and forms of worship reach God. People from all parts of the world, with all manner of books and scriptures and doctrines, were welcomed in India when they came. Those who came did not know as much as those who were here.

When water is added to milk, milk gets adulterated. Similarly Hinduism has been diluted by the ignorance of those who came. In defending the broadmindedness and the large doctrines of our forefathers, we have become narrow-minded and fanatical. It is as absurd as saying that in preserving charity we must adopt stinginess, that in preserving beauty we must make it ugly. In defending and conserving the spirit of tolerance, we have become intolerant. Let us drop this wrong path. Nothing will save our tolerance except tolerance. I wish that men were wise enough to the extent that even if they were Hindus, they could go to mosques and pray. I have no difficulty in thinking of my God while sitting among Christians in a church or among Muslims in a mosque.

It was a great thing that we got rid of British domination and won freedom. But it will be a greater thing if we get rid of intolerance and convert religion into really what it is. We will revolutionize religious thought in the world. Kasi is a place with particular sacred associations and attractions. All religions are attracted here. If you see a mosque on the banks of the Ganga, do not feel angry. It is but right that Islam also should come and settle down on the banks of the Ganga. The children of a mother do not look upon the new born as an intruder but as a brother. Ganga can bear any number of children.

India is a home for all people who believe in God and worship in anyway they like. Free India invites all religions. If you dive into ancient Indian history, you will find that the crudest forms of religious worship and faith have been absorbed in Hinduism. Our forefathers absorbed them in such a way that they made them their own. Why should we stop that process in our time? We must on the other hand continue that process. The object of your association is the object for which I live. My best wishes to you all.

UNVEILING OF THE PORTRAIT OF GANDHIJI.

Unveiling a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Association of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research Ministerial Staff on December 4, 1948, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I am very grateful for the sweet words of welcome read by the President of the Association. He said many nice things.

This is one: "Ours is the first Association in the Secretariat which has the honour to greet amongst us the first Indian Governor-General of free and independent India." I think he could have even said that it is the first Association in the Secretariat which has the honour to greet any Governor-General! It gives me great pleasure to be asked to meet on intimate terms the young men who are working in the offices in, as they think, a subordinate position.

Many are our difficulties, some of them avoidable, some unavoidable. All can be faced more effectively with patience than without it. That is absolutely certain. Not that I do not understand the difficulties of our young men; those difficulties are not caused by any particular persons whom you can blame now but are inherent in the present condition of our affairs. I have very great pleasure in being with you all on this occasion. I wish this were a more common phenomenon in Delhi. There should be more play, more fun and healthy competition in sports. I am very glad that Dr. Mookerjee and the head of the Department, Dr. Bhatnagar, are helping you in this matter. I would like to help you if you will show how I can do it.

Members of the ministerial staff of a Scientific Department may not be scientists or doing scientific work. But any work that facilitates Science is also essential. Although priests and learned men may be chanting hymns in the main shrine of a temple, the people engaged in sweeping the steps and keeping the courtyard of the temple clean were considered by our saints as equally dear to God so that they occasionally did that work too, in order to enhance their own merit. Do not think therefore that you are occupying any humble or humdrum position.

GITA JAYANTI.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Gita Jayanti Celebrations at the Laxmi Narayan Temple Grounds on December 12, 1948 :—

The fathers of Hindu religious thought approached their subject in a scientific spirit. They treated religion on the whole as a search for truth and not as a matter for dogma. So, from time immemorial, although hypotheses were put forward, there was no intolerance of difference. Religion

with us has always continued to be rather a science of the spirit than a body of dogma. Naturally, therefore, every variety of approach to the great mystery is permitted in Hindu religion and treated with respect, provided the approach is in a spirit of reverence. Various forms of elucidation are adopted by various Vedantic schools of thought, but all of them recommend the same code of conduct. All schools of Vedanta and perhaps all religions lead to the same ethic. The Gita sets out this way of life. It applies to all good men, whatever their religious denomination may be. The way of life taught in the Gita is quite consistent with the modern world's requirements.

According to the Gita, the activities of the world must go on. It does not teach that salvation consists in retiring from work. We should look upon the tasks which appertain to us either by being specially entrusted with them or by reason of our place in society as our duty and perform them with the diligence and the skill shown by people who work for selfish ends, but inwardly maintaining a spirit of unselfishness and detachment. Yoga is the name given to that state of mind which enables a man to live a dedicated life while engaged in worldly affairs. Enlightenment and devotion are necessary to enable a man to live this life.

It is easy to be attentive and live a laborious life when we are moved by selfishness. But what the Gita wants is that we should be diligent and skilful although the good results are for society and not for our own advantage, and we should cultivate an unselfish and detached attitude even while we are engaged most busily in material activities. The good man bears in mind always that within him and in every object in the world dwells the supreme soul. He is constantly in prayer to keep his mind free from lust, anger and personal desire. He looks upon all work as noble which is necessary of performance for the maintenance and welfare of society.

A good man regulates his work, food, recreation and pleasures. He does not lose heart seeing difficulties, and maintains courage and equanimity when succeeding or losing, leaving results in the hands of God.

Even a little effort in this direction is good. There is no waste or danger even if we fail. It is not like the rule of medicine in respect of some drugs which lays down that if one fails to follow prescribed rules of diet, the medicine may not only fail to do good, but may do harm.

What we believe in science, what we believe in religion and what we believe in statecraft should all be in harmony with one another. Modern science reveals that the universe is evolved by the gradual unfoldment of the power lodged in the primordial substance. Hindu religion is most consistent with this revelation of science.

Just as Vedānta is most consistent with the awe and beauty of the universe more and more revealed by science, the way of life preached in the Gita is most consistent with the progressive views of citizenship and the conditions for the welfare of the State.

Planned economy and co-operative life in place of competitive and selfish motive is modern economy. This cannot be effectively achieved if it depends on mere external authority, however powerful. We must have a generally accepted culture which works as a law from within to assist the law imposed from without. Unless we have the help of culture, mere material planning culminates in fraud and corruption.

The Vedantic culture is pre-eminently fitted for planned, co-operative community-life wherein everyone must work according to capacity and everyone should get according to his need. Work should be allotted to individuals as well as to groups in accordance with the demands of the general interest. If we want society to control individual life so as to produce general welfare, we cannot depend only on the spy and the policeman. We must build up a spiritual life and a culture which makes joy out of duty discharged and acts as a law from within, making the execution of state-imposed laws easy. We have in the Gita a teaching which can serve as the spiritual and cultural foundation for a just economy of life. Vedantic thought is the root of Indian culture. This root is still living. The source is not yet decayed. The lives of the rich and the poor, of the leisurely classes as well as of the peasants and labourers, of Hindus as well as of people belonging to other religions living in India are all responsive to the philosophy of the Gita. The fragrance of Vedānta appeals to all people in India, illiterate as well as learned.

Work without aiming at personal profit and with an eye only to the welfare of the community, is the way of life taught in the Gita. It lays emphasis on the equal dignity and the sacredness of all work that falls to one's lot. Indeed, the Gita lays down the socialist doctrine in terms of

religion, and treats work as worship if done in the right spirit.

SPECIAL CONVOCATION OF ALIGARH UNIVERSITY.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Special Convocation of the Muslim University, Aligarh on December 15, 1948 :—

I thank you for your words of welcome. I thank you for the great honour you have done me by conferring on me the highest gift in your possession.

You have rightly reminded yourselves and the scholars of the University of the share of responsibility that rests on this University for moulding the ideas and shaping the personalities of the citizens of India.

My Government and I will do everything in our power to enable you to perform your functions in a worthy manner. There is no doubt that this University has a very particular and important rôle to play in the advancement of culture and education in India.

The Aligarh University was born out of the movement which had as its object the turning of the mind of Islam in India towards modern light and culture. You have quoted the words of the founders wherein the hope was expressed that the sons of Aligarh might go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free inquiry, large-hearted tolerance and of pure morality. There can be no better platform for united endeavour on the part of all citizens in India than the platform of free inquiry and large-hearted, mutual understanding and uprightness of conduct.

The first graduate of the College was a Hindu. From its very start the Aligarh College was open to all classes and creeds. This is a fact which cannot be too often repeated and which should be kept continually before friends as well as detractors.

I welcome your impatience for development. It has become difficult to get money allotted by the Government of India even for the best of causes on account of a number of unavoidable circumstances, but a great deal can be done by men moved by earnestness of purpose—much more than is

often imagined. In spite of financial difficulties you will, I am sure, achieve a great deal in the immediate future.

I am glad to see that in your address you have shown commendable awareness of all difficulties. No one is more conscious than myself that the living sources of culture and enlightenment such as Universities are, form a very important and essential part of the mechanism of democracy. Power from below and inspiration from above are essential for the growing plant of democracy even as good soil and bright sunlight are needed for plants to grow well. We have seen enough already to warn us of the dangers arising out of a deterioration of man's sense of moral and spiritual values. Nowhere can a sense of values be conserved and promoted in modern times except in universities. I thoroughly agree with you that Islam, which it is your particular privilege to represent, or the Vedanta which it is the privilege of Banaras particularly to represent, will not be a disabling factor but a perennial source of inspiration in maintaining true values in human endeavour as well as in broadening vision. I go so far in my faith as to believe that each faith will help to glorify the other even as the colours of the spectrum glorify the beauty of each tint in the band.

The retirement of my old friend and colleague Nawab Ismail Khan and the undertaking of the responsibility as Vice-Chancellor by Dr. Zakir Hussain should not be understood or interpreted as any kind of political or other challenge. I can never forget how helpful Nawab Ismail Khan was at a Unity Conference that was held in Allahabad fifteen years ago at which I played some part along with him. Dr. Zakir Hussain's arrival at Aligarh is a re-union. In 1920 the Khilafat movement joined the Swaraj stream as the Jumna joins the Ganga and my dear old colleagues Maulana Mohamed Ali and Big Brother Shaukat Ali, whose memory recalls unforgettable friendship and undying glory of vigorous action, disturbed the calm of Aligarh and raised the old, old issue of conservation *versus* revolution. "Let us conserve" said the older authorities. "We shall die if we do not move" said resurgent patriotism. There was a parting of the ways then. Now there is a re-union, and the Jamia Millia has, through Dr. Zakir Hussain's Vice-Chancellorship, rejoined Aligarh.

May the Aligarh University receive the blessings of God along with every assistance from the people and Government of India.

ALIGARH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' UNION.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Aligarh University Students' Union on December 15, 1948 :—

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR HIGHNESS, FRIENDS AND BROTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNION,—

It gave me great pleasure to hear sincere thoughts expressed in such apposite, eloquent language on this occasion. You will forgive me if I confess that I did not expect such beautiful language. The perfection of style in a foreign language shown by your President surprised me. The pledges to which he gave expression are however much more important than the language in which he clothed his thoughts. They will give great satisfaction and joy to all my colleagues in the Government of India. After getting these pledges I have no hesitation in unveiling the picture which he asked me to unveil.

I have always felt great hesitation whenever I have been asked to unveil a picture of Gandhiji. If the likeness is close to the original, the greater is the grief that it gives one looking at the picture. If the likeness is bad, the grief is there in equal measure. I do not like a bad picture of a very good man. I do not know what you think of the present picture. I think it is a good piece of work and I congratulate the artist who has done it.

You asked me to sign my name in your book and you showed me Gandhiji's signature on its first page. That was a great joy to me. When I thought of the words you uttered, promising the nation and the Government your loyal and devoted service, I felt it was a truly good thing to have been asked to unveil the picture of Gandhiji as a token of acceptance of the promise. Remember, friends, the solemnity of this gesture on your part as well as on mine. The Union has promised on behalf of the University something serious and far-reaching. I have accepted it as Governor-General and Gandhiji has witnessed it in the picture that you have asked me to unveil. It is a completed covenant according to all ideas of jurisprudence, morality and patriotism.

I must congratulate you on having got my old friend Dr. Zakir Hussain as Vice-Chancellor and guide, philosopher and friend of this University. It is not easy to secure one of his stature as Vice-Chancellor for a university. You have in him one who is respected by all in India, irrespective of caste, creed or class. I very much doubted whether he

would give up the Jamia Millia which he nursed with so much affection all these years and come here. Some people welcome a big and new responsibility. But some are so much attached to the work that they have been doing, irrespective of public praise or blame, that they hesitate to give it up and go to what may be considered a more eminent position. Dr. Zakir Hussain belongs to the latter class. I therefore felt doubtful whether he would agree to become your Vice-Chancellor. Then I remembered the connection between Jamia Millia and the Aligarh University. It is more like a son-in-law being asked to go and take charge of the mother-in-law's or father-in-law's house. The Jamia Millia was born in pain. But the Jamia Millia does not for that reason cease to be the child of the mother. Therefore when Dr. Zakir Hussain was asked whether he would go to the mother-in-law's place or father-in-law's place, I could see that he agreed with a whole heart, because he keeps the Jamia Millia in one pocket and Aligarh in another. Do not however go away with the impression that personalities and events like this themselves make for great changes. His coming is an indication of what has happened in India and therefore it was inevitable he should come here. He could not resist it and it was not possible to make any other proposal. That is why he is here with you.

You, members of this Union, are in a way leaders of the student community in Aligarh and probably of the entire Muslim student body in India. Your Union in its opinions will give a lead to Muslim students all over India. I want you therefore to make the best of this good luck of yours. I hope and pray that you, members of the Aligarh University Union, will make the utmost of Dr. Zakir Hussain's presence here. From all that I have seen since this morning, I know that you love him and respect him and that you have confidence in him. That emboldens me to make this appeal to you. A man who trusts in God, who is honest, pious and also considerate and not hasty, is eminently fitted to be your guide in the present critical conditions in our country.

This morning the Doctorate of Law was conferred upon me. If I were asked to answer an examination before qualifying for the degree, the examiners would not have let me off. The University has taken other data to come to the conclusion that I should be the recipient of that degree. But degrees such as have been conferred upon me are of no great use. The degrees you are working for are of great use. Do not go away with the impression that examinations

are of no use and that something else is important. Whatever may have been the case till now, I want you to think differently henceforth. The patriotism with which you have been familiar up till now is a closed chapter. Hereafter your patriotism is of a new colour. It consists in disinterested, joyful service to the State. You must serve faithfully and diligently and you must find joy in service itself. This requires great and careful preparation in the time of youth, and the universities are intended to give that preparation.

The slogan is no longer as in 1920, "Give up colleges". The slogan now is 'Hold on to the colleges, Go to the colleges and do your college work properly'. I have said this times without number and I want to put it to you in this form. The Government, the Governor-General, the leaders of the people who are in charge of the Government—all of them want you to study carefully and diligently without losing time and equip yourselves properly, because we are lacking a great deal in the right type of man-power in this country, and you are preparing yourselves to shoulder the burden of the whole State along with others. You will therefore have to give up all ideas of strikes so far as educational institutions are concerned. Ask any doctor whether in getting something done, like tying up the artery or tying up a vein or a nerve to perform some operation, the heart can be stopped. No. Whatever else you may do, you cannot give a holiday to the heart. So is the education of youth. It cannot be suspended in a living organisation. Along with the promises you have made to your President, I want you silently to promise me that you will never be guilty of indiscipline or of doing anything against the orders of the Vice-Chancellor or any professors or authorities of the University. This is now a free country with a free government to judge things and there is no reason for students to become judges. If you accept the principle of division between the executive and judiciary, you must accept the principle of division between youth engaged in studies and the judiciary. You must not become judges.

The discipline that I have so far seen in the course of the day gives me every confidence that there was no need for me to take up so much of your time over this matter. We have two great free countries now. We have our own India here and we have Pakistan beyond the wall. The whole world is looking on with great expectations. There is a great future before us. The present troubles which are upsetting

people's minds will soon be over. There is no conflict between the two countries. Take it for granted. I am supposed to be a wise man and I tell you with all the earnestness at my command, there is no conflict of interest between Pakistan and India. We are both destined to be great and to help one another. Whether it be politics, economics, literature, morality, religion or any other matter, we two, helping one another, will give something important and valuable to the rest of the world. You here in this University should make it your sacred duty to keep this in your minds. You are, so to say, crusaders for the cause of unity between the two States, of unity between the two faiths, and unity all round in India. This responsibility lies on you in a very particular manner. I hope you will remember it in all your studies.

We have a record in the Upanishads of a valedictory exhortation given to students after the completion of their studies. The substance of that address holds good for the present times and for students like you as well as it did at the time of the Upanishads. The sonorous Sanskrit words can be rendered thus in simple English :

“Speak what is true, fulfil your duties ;

Continue your studies.

Now that you have come to the end of your stay with your teachers and will marry and bring forth progeny,

Do not swerve from truth and Dharma.

Always do something useful in the social economy.

Do not fail to refresh your memory in respect of what you have learnt. Do not give up the desire to achieve.

Remember God, revere your ancestors, revere your mothers and your fathers,

Honour your teachers, honour your guests.

Ever exercise your understanding and distinguish the good from the bad.

Avoid evil and always do what is right.

Follow all that was good in your teacher's life, not any other.

You will meet with better men than the teachers
you have lived with,

Show them due respect.

If your mind is troubled with any doubt, follow the
example of pious elders who are not ungentle
whom you may find in your neighbourhood in
regard to those matters.

This is the rule and this is the teaching."

This closes the message I wished to quote for you. This
exhortation is repeated in the Banaras University at the
time of every Convocation in the original Sanskrit.

Students of Aligarh, I know that in spite of what your
President has said with so much fervour, there is a consider-
able amount of doubt in the minds of many people now.
I want you to be brave, and not downhearted for anything
that has happened. It is my privilege to claim your con-
fidence and to believe that you will not misunderstand me
even if on the surface what I say may seem unpleasant.

You know, without my having to explain it, that many
things have happened in the country which were as un-
expected as they were unfortunate. They have left results
in the psychology of men and women which must be faced.
It is the privilege of cultured Muslims in India to remove
this feeling as speedily as possible, but steadily and with
patience. We have to bear and forbear. Misunderstandings
and suspicion should not make us bitter. I have no doubt
that with restraint and patience Muslims in India will see
a time arrive when the present difficulties will be recalled
with amusement even as differences between the English
and Scottish people are now recalled in British social life.

Whether we believe in the Law of Karma as a part of
our religion or not, it is absolutely true that we have in this
world painfully to work out the results of what has been
done by us or by others around us. We cannot get over
results by arguments but can do so only by courage and
good conduct in the face of every discouragement. I have
a right to make an appeal to you. You must believe it of
me that enlightened leadership in India will not fail you.

Islam was associated with the highest advancement of
Science in Europe. Muslim Universities and Muslim

Doctors of Science saved Science when otherwise Europe would have completely lost what had been gained for humanity by the Greeks. The Muslims added a vast amount of new knowledge on the firm basis of investigation and observation. If Islam did not hinder but helped the progress of Science in Europe, may it be a bright token to you for endeavour in India. Indeed no religion, correctly understood, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism or other, ever hindered. Every religion always helped the progress of humanity.

It is the duty of University men to work for and spread a true understanding of all religions. The pious in all religions are one brotherhood. I appeal to you to work for love and brotherhood in India.

CHILDREN'S FAIR.

Inaugurating the Children's Fair of the Balkan-Ji-Bari at the Purdah Gardens on January 1, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said.—

Mr. Kher, Premier of Bombay, said that I am a lover of children. That is like saying that a tree has leaves. There is no man who does not love children. No tree can grow without leaves. Men cannot grow without children. Like the leaves of a tree, all children are the same.

Men try to bring up children, but really God is bringing them up. The more the children, the better the chances of bringing a good world into existence. If we have no children or if we limit children or dislike them, we dry up the fountain of love in our hearts and the tree itself will dry away afterwards.

Some people lay emphasis on discipline, some on work, others on freedom. The best way to educate children is through joy. It is only through joy you can get real discipline. It is only through joy that you can get real work; it is through joy that freedom has any use. Unless you make children laugh, you cannot educate them. A tree cannot live or leaves grow unless sunlight falls on it. Joy is like sunlight to plants. You may employ a large number of private tutors just as you pour water at the root of a tree, but without joy and sunlight the child cannot grow and the tree cannot grow.

If you want children to grow well, try and give them as much joy as possible. Merely giving education, so-called, is like putting a lot of manure at the root of a tree which is without sunlight. Nature is strong and in spite of all our mistakes children grow well. The sun is strong, the rain is plenty, and the forests grow in spite of the goats. So, in spite of the errors of parents and teachers, children grow.

The Balkan-Ji-Bari is a movement rather than an organisation. This children's movement will have to be done in the home and in the locality. Organization plays a little part. Balkan-ji-Bari is a method of education through joy. Parents and teachers should be made to realize this. The organization works to give the idea to teachers and parents. We should have in each street a small garden and in the town a big garden, and arrangements should be made to enable children to play and find joy there. If you have ladders there, make them suitable for children's legs. If you have benches there, make them low enough

for children. If you have ponds, they should be just deep for children to play. There should be people there to look after the children. Parents perhaps should not be allowed to go there for generally they prevent children from playing freely. Teachers should be kept a mile away. People like me should not also go there for they will be asked to speak and will make long speeches.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT BOMBAY.

In reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Bombay Municipal Corporation on January 7, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It is difficult for me to go through formal functions, especially before very distinguished select audiences like this. I am a common man and disorderly meetings are more in tune with me than audiences of this type. I am very grateful for the very kind words spoken by the Mayor, which represents the affection of all the people of this great city. I am also very grateful for the beautiful casket and the grand function. Every face here is familiar and it is difficult to pose as a great man before very familiar friends. I have come in the beginning of a year and I have great pleasure in giving to the people of this city, through the Mayor, my best wishes and prayers for all good luck throughout the coming year.

We have begun well. The year has begun with a remarkable exhibition of statesmanship and wisdom on our part which the whole world has acclaimed unanimously as a great step. Some people even say that we have set a great example to the rest of the world. I am very grateful—and I express it on behalf of the Government—for the promise which the Mayor has been gracious enough to give of complete co-operation in all the endeavours of the Government. All finances in our country flow into the towns and into the cities. These are the reservoirs where all the rainfall of wealth in the country flows into and it is from here we have to draw. I am rather surprised the Mayor asks for money from Delhi instead of sending remittances to Delhi. But joking apart, the problems that your Mayor has referred to, I have no doubt, are engaging the attention of the Government at Delhi and the Government at Bombay and I am sure that everything

that can be done will be done. Such influence as I have will be exercised with very great caution and if I feel that it would be right for me to press a point, I shall be glad to do so. I do not think there would be any need however for such influence to be exercised. I am informed that a Committee will soon be constituted by the Government of India to look into the question of the finances of local bodies and I am certain that what is right will be done.

At the end of this month we shall have reached the anniversary of the passing away of our great leader and father. According to our own traditional ideas the anniversary of the death should be an occasion not for melodramatic exhibitions of grief but for surveying and for introspection. We have to see whether we have done all that we should do, whether we are going on the right track, and if there is anything to be done or undone, to make up our minds to do so. I am certain that all this will be done by all good men and women on the 30th of January, especially in Bombay which he always felt was his native city. The people of Bombay should regard it as a very sacred day and should review and do a lot of spiritual introspection.

Thank you very much for the affection and the generosity you have shown in giving me this great welcome. Once more Your Excellency and Mr. Mayor, in thanking you I wish a happy New Year to you all.

UNITED WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS.

In reply to the address presented by the United Women's Organizations at the Bai Sunderbai Hall, Queen's Road, Bombay, on January 7, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said —

SISTERS,—

I thank you very much for the kindness and affection you have shown to me. I take your address as a blessing. The women of India have blessed the men and that is why they have been able to achieve something. It is not necessary for you to suffer much, you have only to bless your brothers and they will do the rest. When women are bold and make up their minds to suffer, the men automatically become bold. This explains how ordinary men like us went through a great deal of suffering. Hereafter we have to work in a different way. It is easier to go to jail than to be patient under provocation. It is only if men find co-operation in their families that they will be able to show courage in public work.

Do not think that Mahatmaji is dead. He is watching and he is inspiring us all. Don't imagine that he is dead and gone and that we may now do things which we would not have done in his presence. He is seeing all that we do with his spiritual eyes. Let us therefore be more careful and more loyal to him now than we were when he was alive.

No trick or strategem can make our country wealthy or great. It is only if individuals—each man and each woman—improve in character and be industrious that our country will progress. When we were not free, patriotism consisted in fighting those who kept us under subjection. Now that we are free, patriotism consists in becoming better than we were and working more than we did. Habits are hard to get over. The old habit of quarrelling with those who kept us under subjection will continue to tempt us to quarrel with ourselves. We must get rid of this habit and we must learn to think more honestly, to behave more honestly, and to work a little more than we did before. India is like a purse. If you put money into it, the purse will become big; otherwise it will remain lean. We must work, produce wealth and put it into India. If we must quarrel with one another sometimes, let us do so moderately.

Do not quarrel with one another but compete with one another. There is a very great urgency for doing work quickly now.

I give you my best wishes in your work.

POONA CIVIC ADDRESS.

Replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the Poona City Municipality on January 8, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. DESHMUKH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I need hardly tell you I am very glad to be in Poona. Poona is a familiar place to me. Years ago, even as a boy I was trained to look upon Poona with awe and delight. When my own place, Salem, became politically active, we took pride in calling it the Poona of South India. You can understand from this how much we looked to Poona. When in a state of subjection India began to look up with self-respect, Poona led the way. Remember the great people who raised the name of Poona to high reputation. In those days Bal Gangadhar Tilak's name was a magic to all of us boys. He was not called Lokamanya in those

days. We did not distribute titles then. We had not the courage to patronise great people. How can I forget the gentleness and the friendliness which the great Tilak extended to me, a young man as I was then? The British looked upon Lokamanya Tilak as if he were a tiger or a cheeta. But we knew how gentle Lokamanya Tilak was. He would not even hurt a fly. He uttered political theories and slogans which looked fierce but in his personality he was as gentle and sweet as a child. He used to go to prison for long terms and when he came out of it nobody could find out that he had been a prisoner; he never uttered a word about his prison life.

I know that many people are dissatisfied with me some times for being too accommodating, and for making concessions too easily to the opposite side. Let me tell you, friends, that I learnt this from Lokamanya Tilak. He made concessions to all—to Moderates, to Mussalmans, and to the British. Lokamanya Tilak was not only a great man but he was also a wise man and I learnt the wisdom of making concessions from him, not from anybody who came after him. I remember very well the bitterness of the political quarrels of those days and I remember equally well that as a young man I thought Lokamanya Tilak was getting too moderate. Now I realize that he was not moderate, but was wise while we were foolish.

I am telling you all this not to entertain you but to remind you again that it is not right to be fanatical. It is wise to be a little humble even in our opinions.

I miss here many old friends who have gone permanently away from us. It is the price that a man pays if he lives very old. How can I fail to remember Kelkar? He was a great man, one with whom I have sat on so many occasions in the Congress. He was a violent opponent of my politics after 1920 and of Gandhiji's politics, but he remained a gentleman and a friend up to the end.

Here in Poona, not only are these great spirits floating in your memories to inspire you, but here it was that Gandhiji was incarcerated over and over again. Here it was that I and Devadasji saw him in 1922, in prison in India, where he was treated like a common criminal during the first few days. Here it was that Gandhiji was operated on for appendicitis. Here it was that he lost his dear wife and his Secretary Sri Mahadev Desai. Here it was again that between Dr. Ambedkar and us all we had a Kurukshetra battle. You have thus all the honours of the past revolution.

You should make therefore Poona great again That is a debt which you owe to your City. Do not imagine that Bombay has become great and Poona is small. Poona has got all the intellectual stamina of the Province. Bombay may have a lot of money and Government will rob them of it over and over again, but your intellectual eminence cannot be taken away from you. Money when lost is lost; but *Saraswati prasad* when given doubles itself.

I am very grateful for the welcome that you have given me. My best wishes to you all.

AT THE MAHRATTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Replying to the address presented by the Mahratta Chamber of Commerce in Poona on January 8, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS,—

It is exceedingly kind of you to have put up this beautiful *shamiana* and to have taken so much trouble to make me feel happy. The other Chambers of Commerce in India are old institutions, but within the short time that you have been working, you have shown a high degree of originality and sincerety of purpose and enlightened approach to problems. I noted it when I met your deputation a few years ago when I was holding charge of one of the Ministries in the Government of India. You approached things if I may say so, in a practical manner. You will, I hope, carry on in the same way and will, I am sure, contribute a great deal to the solution of all our difficult problems.

The localization of organizational work is very important. There is a tendency for every organization to cover the whole of India and get lost, so to say, in the very size of the adventure. Every local adventure with an emphasis on the local context, human and other, has much more chances of success than a large all-India, all-embracing organizational effort. Whatever unity of culture and of other things we have, our country is very large and we should have a number of local organizations with sincere workers who will concentrate on things near about them. So when a few years ago you came to me with a deputation, I was indeed very pleased. I felt that you were sure to put new life into the people of this part of the country. I see from your address you are concious of having done good work in that direction and I wish you all

further success. This part of the country has produced Kirloskars who have done so much in a difficult field. I have no doubt that there are many more of that type available who can be drawn into this work.

As I do not tire of telling people, patriotism hereafter consists in work such as the Kirloskars are doing in co-operation and productive activity. Your own remarks in the address make it unnecessary for me to say anything more on that subject. All that you say is very true and all that you desire will be done but you will have to allow for the weaknesses and difficulties of the situation. You will have to allow for the fact that we are all more or less new in the art of government, more or less inexperienced, we have had more difficulties than even experienced governments have faced in other places. We have been doing fairly well with God's grace. If you will continue to show patience, I am sure we will be able to achieve a great deal in this dear country of ours.

You said to me that I should advise my Government to be more impartial in the distribution of their favours and encouragement to backward areas. Let me assure you that all this will be done and it is wholly unnecessary for me to advise my Government in this regard. They are quite conscious of the needs of the situation. They are very sincere in their efforts to produce the maximum amount of good results all over the country. No great exertion on my part therefore is necessary for that purpose. You think that my words will weigh with them more than your own words. There also I think you are mistaken. Your own advice will be considered as valuable, especially as it is backed by direct experience than any advice that I may give them. But I do not refuse to do what I can in the matter that you suggest.

I wish to ask you however not to look upon this help from Government or the notice of Government as a kind of rationing. It is not as if we have a limited supply and they have to distribute equally that limited supply to all places. On the contrary it is necessary to give every attention to undeveloped areas in whatever field it may be, in order to produce the maximum amount of good to the country. If some areas have advanced to the full, other areas which have not yet advanced in this respect will have to be taken up in order that the total output may be enlarged. It is not a case of justice, it is just a case of patriotic effort to produce the maximum amount of good in the country. If we give attention to Maharashtra,

we will have more for India and that is quite enough reason for giving every possible attention to the further development of Maharashtra.

You have, Mr. President, been however somewhat unfair to us in one respect. Although you have not said so in so many words, you indicate that we are, in season and out of season, criticizing industrialists and we ought to direct our attention to labour also. Let me remind you that no occasion is lost by the members of my Government and myself in drawing the attention of workers to their duties in the field of labour. When we are in the company of industrialists we deal with them. When we talk to labour we deal with them. We should not go about creating superficial satisfaction by attacking absent parties. If you remember this and review what has been said or written from time to time you will see that we have not spared labour. We have not spared the industrialists either. In fact we have not spared even ourselves in that matter. If you catch us any time telling workmen that they should be less industrious than they are or less sincere in their output than they are, you are entitled to condemn me and my colleagues.

The same drug will not cure all patients. You should not criticize Government on the score that they have used soft language towards labour. Labour may be less poor than they were last year or five years ago. That does not mean they are happy or that their families have got opportunities that the upper or middle class families have or that their children are being educated or have tenements they can rightly call their own and feel the joy of home. You must therefore not be jealous, so to say, if more kindness is shown to workers by our Government than on the face of it appears to be shown to industrialists. Different people require different degrees of kindness and different degrees of harshness. I assure you that no one has realised the need for increased and strenuous work in the country more than the members of Government. Labour too knows that it is only if they work that things can be produced and wages can be paid and life all round made better. They know all that but they feel that unless they do certain things they will not get what is absolutely necessary for them. They may be wrong in their judgment, but I want you to be kind in your assessment of the situation as a whole. Let us tolerate each other's feelings to some extent and let us pull together. Let me tell you that I feel that whatever may be the causes, things are better

this year than they were last year and should be better towards the latter part of this year than they are at the beginning of the year.

If Indian industrialists have certain difficulties they share them with all the people in the world. But an additional factor in India is the sum of her political problems. As we solve them, you will gradually find more joy in the work you are doing. The world has had a sudden shake-up of a kind which has deteriorated many things. There have been many elements which we could name as deterioration. People are not as honest as they used to be when I was young. Not only the industrialists, but everybody has deteriorated. We must restore our sense of human values. Otherwise we cannot get on nor shall we improve. But stating the proposition is no remedy. Nothing is achieved in this world by reiteration of words. Everybody is not a Kirlosker. Most industrialists and capitalists are just careful people and nothing more. What is wanted is initiative, imagination, genius for production. There are a few people of that type but others have thrived on just care and caution. During the last two decades, especially during the *swadeshi* period, everyone who had some money thrived by just care and caution and a show of patriotism. Hereafter it is not going to be so easy.

The state of affairs now is rather more difficult. We will have to exercise our capacity for invention, production and just distribution and specially the ability to manage men. In the old days, the British Government managed all the men and the caste system was a great and effective resource to draw from. If you threw some money you got work done. Now it is not so easy. The management of men has become more difficult. Everybody is ready to be discontented. Everybody is ready to be angry. Everybody is ready not only to be angry but to combine and do something wrong. We have to acquire more capacity in the management of men. You will be the first to agree with me that men and women are good in our country and that with a little kindness and good treatment, you can get them to work. There is great talent even in common folk and among the lowest strata of society. They are all patriotic. They are cultured and civilized in all strata, and we are also good people. There is great hope, if we exercise patience and cultivate good feelings instead of cultivating bitterness. Let us be happy. As the Ayurvedic doctors tell you, if we constantly remind ourselves of happiness and contemplate happiness, we will create happiness even without our knowing it.

AT THE INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER.

At the reception given by Shri Ramdas Kilachand, President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, on January 8, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech.—

MR. PRESIDENT, FRIENDS IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I was not quite sure that I would be called upon to speak and spoil the mirth and enjoyment of this gathering, but the very formal manner in which the President has read his address seems to indicate that against the rule which he himself suggests I should speak. Mr. President, consider for a moment whether you would advise the Governor-General to speak if Cabinet Ministers have to keep mum in regard to matters of moment. If Ministers who hold counsel with one another and who should help one another by indirect support and cultivation of public opinion should, in your opinion, in order to improve stability and certainty in the commercial and industrial minds, keep silent, would you really advise a constitutional Governor-General to speak about these matters?

I sympathise very much with the suggestion you make that there should be as little confusion as possible over policies of such momentous importance like industry and commerce in our country. I quite understand it and I know that all the Ministers agree on the matter; but do you really think that silence would improve matters? I doubt it. If nobody talked and if a conspiracy of silence prevailed among politicians and Ministers, you would yourselves come forward and say 'Can't you tell us something? Must you keep it all so mysterious?' You will yourselves demand a little naturalness about all these things. Let us not make rules. If you think that Ministers should not speak on matters relating to portfolios other than their own, why do you bother about what they speak on those matters? Perhaps you feel that there is importance in what they say. If so, is it not an advantage to know the trends of their thoughts so that you may take time by the forelock if necessary. You can go and discuss matters, and vary and modify policies by the exercise of your influence. Why do you object to the windows of the minds being open? I suggest to you that you may think a little more boldly about this matter. Do not get frightened. Speeches do not matter. It is not speeches that have prevented production, let me assure you. There are other deeper and more important causes which we have to fight with and overcome.

After the last war, moral values have gone down. That is the cause. I am an old-fashioned man who still believe that character is important. Do not imagine that I am throwing another stone at the industrialists. Character all round is important—character of the workers, supervisors, experts, industrialists, character of the government and character of the Governor-General also. Character has somehow or other deteriorated all round which again does not mean that men have changed. Somehow the values that men gave to things have changed. Just as the rupee has become much less valuable than it was before. We have to correct this lowering of moral values.

People have become lazy. People have become a little reckless of everything else except what is advantageous to themselves. This is what I may call a drop in the valuation of things. It is only by thinking rightly and by acting correctly that one can improve this. Infection of character is as strong as infection of any disease germs. If individuals make up their minds to be good, even a single person can do much more than is imagined.

When you have a reception, Mr. President, if there is a hole in the carpet, your good servant puts down his chaddar and hides the hole in good time. He does not sit down and try to mend it when all the guests are present thereby drawing more attention to the hole. Even supposing that our resources are poor, and that everything is going wrong, we should not lower stocks and injure our credit abroad. Business men outside India have a high opinion of our resources and our future, and our credit is very high. There is therefore every chance of producing a better condition of affairs, if not very soon, at any rate in the near future.

Let us therefore have confidence. Let us see our own resources and our own capacities in the confidence that other people have. I said the same thing in Calcutta.

Now today you think everything is uncertain, everything is difficult. I admit that the workmen do not work as they should. I am a poor man and I can sympathise with them. Work in a factory is hard and monotonous. It is hard work, joyless work. Therefore it is difficult to manage them. We must make the workers feel joy in their work. You can do that by acting courageously and by showing more kindness to the workers. The poorest man in the village is a Vedantin. He is a good man, he is a philosopher and he is clever with his fingers. There is great talent and scientific capacity in our country. Do

not be downhearted. Have trust in the Government because you know they are all good men, men who have a heart and who love the country and who want industry to grow.

You want special representation for the Chambers of Commerce. I should not express an opinion on a matter which has to be reviewed by the Constituent Assembly. I just wish you in an academic way to think over the matter again. Even if you have one, or two or three or four of your representatives sitting in the Assembly, do you think that will bring about a miracle for you? Supposing your representatives make speeches in the Assembly, and they are voted down, the whole chapter is closed, whereas if you are out, you have your organisation which can exercise its influence in various ways and you will have greater chances of having your point considered. If I were you, I would not ask for special representation. In the old days expression of opinion was not easy. Men had full right to express opinions only in the Assembly. Then it was that people wanted to be in the Assembly so that they might speak and find a way to express their case. There is no country where the press is so free as it is here. At any rate there is every chance for commerce and industry to express itself. Therefore if I were you, as I told you, I shall not influence the vote on this matter. It is not a matter for me to express an opinion but I advise you not to lessen your importance by asking for special representation. Are the scientists asking for special representation? No. But the moment anything unscientific is done, scientists write in journals and take necessary action to correct the mistake. Supposing a scientist were put in the Legislative Council and asked to give his vote, he loses his position. You are in the same position as an expert with an importance of its own. You get greater importance by not getting diluted in the Legislative Assembly.

Friends, I am sure you will not misunderstand what I have said. I know you are kind and affectionate to me and I have taken this liberty.

Once again let me repeat 'Have confidence, things will improve'. Do not imagine that our country is going down. The moment Cease Fire was declared on the 1st January, the whole world immediately thought 'Well, India is strong'. Immediately our credit went up. It is not small things that are in the way. There are big things in the way and we should help one another in removing them.

THE HOME GUARDS PARADE.

Addressing the Home Guards on Parade at Dhobi Talao, Bombay, on January 9, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUNG MEN,—

It gives me great pleasure to see you all gathered in this manner. I do not propose to talk to you at any length. I just stand here to give you my best wishes. We have a great country and we have to look after it. We have to think and act greatly, otherwise we shall not deserve the greatness that has come down to us.

Thank you very much for taking all this trouble on this occasion when I had the pleasure and privilege of coming here.

JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA, BOMBAY.

Replying to the address presented by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema at Kaiser Bag, Dongri, Bombay, on January 9, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MAULVI SAHIB, FRIENDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your kind welcome. I need hardly tell you how pleased I am to see you all gathered here with goodwill in your hearts. If hearts are full of goodwill faces shine like angels' faces. If we entertain ill-will or distrust we become ugly like the devils painted in pictures for children. I am filled with joy to see faces which indicate confidence, mutual trust and goodwill. Do not believe that I go about in search of addresses and caskets. I go about the country to see people's faces and gauge the state of their mental health. God has endowed us with faces which immediately shape themselves according to the feelings inside. Every momentary change of heart is shown in the face. If we get into the habit of continually thinking well, continually having goodwill in the heart, the face gets permanent beauty. If you want to look beautiful, Sisters and Brothers, cultivate goodwill. Likewise, if you want India to be beautiful, let us cultivate goodwill.

My Muslim brothers and sisters, do not ask for justice. Do not ask for toleration. This is your own country. Treat it as your own home and your own property. When the great poet sang Hindustan Hamara, he did not mean to say that the Mussalmans should claim it

as their special and exclusive property. He wanted Mussalmans to feel that this was our property, the property of Mussalmans and Hindus alike. Would you be happy if the children of a family ask for toleration at the hands of the parents? They must ask for the parents' entire love and this is what you owe to and what you can demand of this country.

This hall seems to be the best place in the whole of Bombay to sit together for peace and goodwill. Muslim brothers and sisters, whatever may be your age, so far as the State is concerned you are, to the State, like the youngest children of a family. And may the Hindus in Pakistan be similarly treated as the youngest children of that State. To be the younger children of the State does not mean a status of subordination, it is, on the contrary, a status of privilege. The child is the governor of the house. The wishes of the baby predominate the governance of the house. I feel confident that there is peace in India now. The Cease Fire that the Governments of India and Pakistan have declared is a Cease Fire not only for the Kashmir campaign. The Cease Fire is not only the stoppage of the burning of gun-powder. It is a Cease Fire for all ill-will, all distrust.

You have referred to my having been a very faithful follower of our departed Leader. May I tell you—and believe me—that the Government of India is a faithful follower of the departed Leader and not I alone. They know very well that the glory of the Government of India rests on their loyalty to Mahatma Gandhi. His dear colleagues who are now in charge of the Government of India have seen with their own eyes the wisdom of what he taught and have felt in their own hearts the heights to which he rose just before he died. Have confidence, therefore, in your Government.

I thank you once again for the affection you have shown me

THE BOMBAY UNION OF JOURNALISTS.

Replying to the address presented by the Bombay Union of Journalists at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, on January 9, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. GOPALASWAMY, YOUR EXCELLENCY AND FRIENDS,—

I am very sorry that my friend, Mr. Brelvi, has not been able to come here this evening. I am more sorry to learn the reason for it.

You have not raised very difficult points—not half as difficult as the commercial and industrial people when they meet a person like me. You say you are disappointed that the press is not specifically mentioned in the Constitution that is being framed. Special mention is not legally necessary. Let me confirm the explanation given on the floor of the Assembly that freedom of expression includes the right of the press. It is a correct juridical position. There is also the lawyer's theory that if you particularise one or two items in a general proposition you lower the value of the general statement. Judges and lawyers will confirm that if you proceed to particularise, the full meaning of the general statement will be lost; the interpreters of the Constitution would exclude other particular things not mentioned.

You say you will be quite content if you in India had the freedom which the press in England enjoys. But the press in India enjoys the same rights as the press in England does. In England the press is free, just as free as the press here is and no more. So I do not think that you can justifiably complain in regard to this matter. I claim there is no distinction between the position of the press in England and the position of the press here. I claim that if a jury composed of pressmen of the world haphazardly take half a dozen issues of newspapers in India of any date, they will give the verdict that the press here is enjoying thorough-going freedom. I cannot imagine what more freedom you can ask for. I have been reading, both for instruction and for amusement, issues of Bombay journals fairly regularly. It is astonishing to see how free the press in Bombay is. In our country the courts have not been very rigorous in enforcing the law in libel cases. If half the things written in our press appeared in an English newspaper, terrible damages would be awarded by the jury. But I do not envy the state of things in England in this respect. It is better not to bother about libel. Our people are not misled by such things. Therefore no harm is done by them.

I saw both in Bombay and Poona that the people felt great joy at seeing an Indian Governor-General moving about in flesh and blood among them. The children were the most jubilant. It seemed to me that they were delighted that what they saw so vividly, a Governor-General of their own going about was not a dream but an actual fact. That set me thinking. Perhaps they have an intuitive feeling that in their time things will really improve, whatever disappointments you may have now and how-

ever impatient you may be now. That is why instinctively they felt jubilant at the sight of the symbol of our newly won Independence. I want you also to think like them and to have confidence that things will improve soon.

The press men are used to my habit of making forecasts and I do not think you believe I am a poor astrologer. I tell you that most of the present political discontent and difficulties which we (the Government) are facing will disappear soon. I do *not* say *all*. I only say *most* of our difficulties. A few must remain, otherwise you cannot enjoy the dynamic condition which life inherently must follow.

You all remember that I told your colleagues in Madras some time ago that they should look upon Journalism not as a profession or occupation but as a fine art. Unfortunately the meaning of my "fine art" appeal was a little blurred by numerous light comments. I do not complain. Let us laugh. The humour column is a very good thing. I like it very much. But it is not easy to make good jokes. It is only too easy to make poor jokes. Now a poor joke can scatter wisdom to pieces but a good joke does no harm. Poor jokes can do a lot of harm. I repeat what I said to your colleagues in Madras. Look upon your work with the eyes of an artist. Hereafter in the measure that our country produces beautiful things, in that measure alone will our country be great.

Thank you very much for asking me to join you.

AT THE INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BOMBAY.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, when unveiling the bust of Mahatma Gandhi on January 10, 1949 :—

MR. KILACHAND, YOUR EXCELLENCY AND FRIENDS,—

I have always felt it a painful duty to unveil a picture or statue of our beloved leader, although it is impossible to refuse a request of this kind. It revives pain to look at pictures and statues of one whom we have lost. When you feel grief, how can you judge works of art? The man was different from his form. You cannot get anything out of it by looking at a material likeness of that form. An ancient text in our scriptures says that the person you see in the eye is the *Atman*. Scholars have given many interpretations of this text. The text itself is the centre piece

of a story where the chief of the gods understood it in one way and the chief of the anti-gods understood it in another way. There is something missing in any work of art and that is in your mind all the time when you look at a statue like this. The light that shines from inside in the eyes cannot be brought out in any statue. So, my friends, forgive me if I have not been able to give any opinion on the artist's work.

The members of the Chamber here were in one way closely connected with Gandhiji while in other ways they were far apart from him. There are many people who used to look upon Gandhiji as a great bania and you are a Chamber of Banias. The term 'bania' has been used in a very familiar and derogatory sense in modern days. It is used to denote a caste or a miser, a moneylender and so on. But really a bania simply means a merchant. To distribute things among the people in a fair manner is the bania's Dharma. You are a Chamber of such people. God has many names in our scriptures and one of them is 'trader', that is to say, He receives and gives. He receives as price the action of men and gives reward in return, weighing it in exact scales just as merchants are expected to do. Correct weighing was one of the attributes of God and correct trader is one of His thousand names.

You have erected this bust to be a constant source of inspiration to members of your Chamber. May that inspiration remind you of the correctness of life that you are expected to lead and the manner in which you are expected to fulfil your functions in society. Trade and commerce have grown. The community of merchants has come to exist not by a conspiracy of selfish people but as a step in natural evolution. All social institutions are as much living organisms as plants and lives that have come into being through evolution and the laws of nature. Your trade and commerce have come into being as part of a natural evolution and therefore merchants have a necessary function in society to perform. As long as they perform the functions that appertain to them, the scriptures of our ancients and the philosophy of our moderns recognise them as having an important place in society.

There are many schools of social organisation. There may be people who dream that we should have a society wherein distribution could be done without the help of profiteering agencies. But agencies of some kind are required for distribution and whether one agency is better than

another is a matter of trial and error. The same smith may get different results working with different tools. Whether one method of distribution is better than another depends not only upon the relative merits of the method but also on the men concerned. While therefore we try and find out our mistakes, let us not become fanatical opponents of one another. In India, many trials have to be made, many errors have to be committed and rectified. If the Government of India brought in controls or if they removed controls or brought controls in again, these are not signs of indecision or instability. These are symptoms of the spirit of honest endeavour and let us look upon them as such. The Government of India have tried and are trying to cope with extraordinary difficulties. In a small country, with a relatively small population, experiments are easier and results more satisfactory and decisive. But in a large country such as ours, with a population as vast as it is, where numerous layers are involved, experiments are rather difficult. It requires greater courage on the one hand and greater tolerance on the other. Let us therefore be sympathetic and help the Government. The removal of controls had not proved satisfactory and some people could say "Well, did I not tell you?" or "Did I not say you should do something else?" and so on. The Government of India have reimposed regulation to some extent and it has not been very quick in producing results. Every line of work produces new difficulties and we must face them.

When the Government of India said, "We shall try our best to lower prices but we shall begin now at where prices stand", some people were quite happy, others were unhappy. They said, "Do you mean to say that you will go on stabilizing prices at their present levels? It would be extraordinarily unfair. We have not been given compensatory arrangements for the high prices now reached", and there is thus great discontent.

When I decided to come to Bombay and knew that I would meet you all, I knew that I would have to say something about this matter. So instead of depending on my own notions of things, I asked my friend and colleague the Finance Minister about this. The Finance Minister of the Government of India informed me definitely that it is not the intention of the Government to stabilize prices at their present levels. It is only a point at which to start. As things ease, prices are bound to come down. It is not their intention to maintain prices at the present levels.

They expect all prices to go down as we go on. That is the definite policy of the Government I am in a position to tell you and through you all those who are concerned.

All this has nothing to do with Mahatma Gandhi. But during the last few months of his career in this world, Mahatma Gandhi was very much exercised over the question of prices and showed concern in the consultations people had with him. It was always wrong to go to Mahatma Gandhi with the belief that whatever he said was the word of God. Those that went to him in that spirit returned no doubt very happy, but in my opinion, not very wise. Those who went to him for advice as a great and selfless man and as a friend and patriot and as one inspired by love of humanity and therefore entitled to special regard, came back wiser than when they went to him. It was in that spirit that Ministers of the Government of India consulted him from time to time. All the time Mahatma lived, he did not like anybody to go to him with the intention of accepting without examination anything he said. If I may tell you a personal secret, he liked me most because I had the mischievous tendency to argue things out with him and differ from him if necessary. If I had become a cent. per cent. loyalist, so to say, I do not think I would have commanded his love or confidence. That does not mean that it was an incitement to me to try to differ from him. At no time did I give cent. per cent. approval to what he said as during the last few weeks of his life-time. He rose, in my opinion to the height of his glory and eminence and usefulness in the world during those few weeks. He was like a rocket which went up and in a blaze disappeared in the sky. It did not come down to die. It died at its highest illumination. He put his whole soul into his passion for communal amity and disappeared in a glory.

Some people think that regulation can make everything. They talk of Government keeping down inflation as if it were simply a matter of physical control. The forces that are in operation, act according to the law of nature. A patient gets rheumatism because his heart requires some rest and rheumatism compels him to get that rest. Gandhiji was most concerned not about prices but about the moral condition of our people. It may be that moral condition has something to do with prices also. But the main thing he was concerned about was a deterioration in the moral fibre of the people, including mutual love and mutual trust. It was towards that he was making his highest endeavour just before he disappeared. Let us

try as far as we can to keep his memory not in marble or plaster or bronze, but in the tissue of our hearts. We should try to paint and frame him in our hearts. Other pictures or statues have no life. It is then that every individual member of the Chamber of Commerce will get the inspiration sought from the bust you have unveiled.

AT THE HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA.

Addressing the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Bombay, on January 10, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

It is not possible for one in my position to visit during a brief stay all the places one would like to. There are limitations on my movement. Still I have made time to pay a visit to Perin Captain's organization. She has been working all her life in the face of many difficulties. She regards her work for this item of Bapu's programme as a kind of *śradh*, the omission of which would be a sin.

I have come here today to plead with Srimati Perin Captain for greater patience. The Government of Bombay have their difficulties and if they seem not as quick to respond to your advice as you would like them to be, it is because they know you will understand their difficulties unlike others who are not so good.

I want to tell you this. Please do not take every word of our dear departed leader as scripture and every modification to be heresy. In regard to the question of Hindustani Gandhiji's main point was the spread of Hindustani. We are forgetting the main point but are quarrelling over the question of scripts. Language is sound. Script is only written representation of the sound. Any language can be written in any script that you like Sanskrit can be written in Roman script or Telugu script. The question of scripts need present no difficulty whatever. It has seized people's minds because grown-up people who have the discussion in their hands cannot learn a new script easily. If, to these same people, Hindustani is presented in their own script, the script that they know, you will see that they proceed to learn the language without objection or difficulty. My advice to you therefore is that you should use for adults the script that they are familiar with. Otherwise your difficulties will be Himalayan, you will earn merit but not reach Kailas and the difficulty of learning the scripts will be transferred to the language itself.

With children it is different but the child is the ward of the parents who are, however, not wise and think that script is a matter of religion. A Hindu parent thinks that only the Nagari script should be used. A Muslim father prefers his children taught through Urdu script. And even when they compromise, there is resentment in the heart.

I would ask that in our work we should not resort to compulsion. It is curious that though we shout freedom all the time, we pledge our faith to coercion. This is all wrong. I feel sad at exhibitions of ignorance and fanaticism.

Those who wish to be workers in the Hindustani movement should in my view know not only the Hindi and Urdu scripts but also Bengali, Telugu and other Indian scripts. Then you will be able to function more effectively and spread Hindustani all over India, presenting it to people in their own scripts.

Let us not spend our energies in quarrels. Let us not fight about differences. Rather let us concentrate on the points of agreement and carry on our work with hope, faith and courage. Varieties of *gur* are different, nevertheless they have the common quality of sweetness.

DELHI UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

Addressing the Annual Convocation of the Delhi University on January 15, 1949, His Excellency the Chancellor said.—

MR VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am grateful to the Vice-Chancellor for having relieved me of the heavier part of today's proceedings. The University is grateful to Sir Maurice Gwyer for having undertaken the responsibility for another term of office as its academic and executive head. It is our good fortune that a man of his eminence has made himself available for such service in this important and growing university. It is not everyone of his years who will voluntarily choose to work hard after having already achieved what would have served as quite enough laurels to rest on. Where, in accordance with democratic ideas, we have adopted the procedure of election for filling positions requiring expert qualifications, to which appointments were made in the old days by authority, it is necessary to create an atmosphere which would attract the offer of such services by the most capable and high minded among us. We have seen how

those who are best qualified to serve in civic administration stand aside, disliking the vexations attendant on election procedure and leaving third and fourth rate men to manage the affairs of local bodies as best as they can. The same fate should not be allowed to overtake our universities. I hope that these remarks of mine, which deal with a matter of very great and growing importance in many of our affairs, will be understood in the spirit in which I have uttered them.

I remember what a great and exciting occasion it was to me when as a young man I received my degree as a Bachelor of Arts in 1897. In spite of the many changes that have come about in life in general and in India in particular, I do not believe young men receiving degrees today are less excited about it than young men were in those days over fifty years ago. Aspiration and hope and the generous impulses of youth are just the same now, as then. I can guess how your young minds are all charged with noble ambition and hope. May God bless you and give you every chance. Remember that the battle is the glory and results do not count. I do not repeat empty words. I speak as a man who has gone through many trials, defeats as well as successes, and I assure you results really do not matter and it is the way in which you struggle that matters. God has manifestly given us all in India a chance and we should prove how good we are capable of being. We are children of noble ancestors and there is a great deal in heredity. India has come into its own at a rather bad time in the history of world morality. Had we eliminated foreign care-taking some 25 years ago, we should have fared much better. But we cannot get everything done just as we would like and so we must make the best of it now. Our freedom has been born when the world has in many respects greatly deteriorated, and this is a great handicap for us who have to start now.

At no time was there in our country such serious heart-searching as at the present moment agitates all circles, high and low, as to the need for reinforcing the sense of values, moral and spiritual. Never was it more acutely realized that no effort to improve conditions through laws or through administrative direction can bear fruit, unless the moral sense of the intelligentsia is quickened.

Precepts lose all meaning if repeated too often. The statements of leaders and their appeals from public platforms are just diagnosis and do not act as remedies for the sickness diagnosed. We have, it is perfectly clear, to make

the quickening of the moral sense a definite part of the educational system, even though it may seem to be a slow approach to the problem. And this, not by including in the curricula of schools and colleges, lectures and studies on the subject of morality, but by organizing such activities and such discipline as will infuse, in the minds of our young men and women, a reverence for truth and good and an automatic revulsion from falsehood and evil. An ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory. It follows that in schools and colleges, we should have men and women whose daily lives inspire and infuse enlightened thought and action in the impressionable minds of the boys and girls brought in contact with them. As much care and caution should be taken over the habits of thought and action of the persons recruited for holding teachers' and tutors' posts and other positions of authority in educational institutions, as over their expert qualifications in the realm of knowledge.

The part played by personal contact is great in good as well as in evil. We are imitative by nature. Not only in the early and impressionable years but throughout life, we automatically copy the ways of those we admire. Therefore, a great deal of improvement* is possible if responsibility for moulding character and behaviour all round is definitely undertaken by those who are placed in positions of authority and influence. This is the only way and not any set instruction.

In the old days, a sense of values was automatically conserved by widespread beliefs that may be described succinctly by the term Religion. But in modern times, when so much has been irretrievably done rightly or wrongly to undo the work of ages in the matter of religion, we have to find new instruments for shaping the minds of men and women so that they may develop attitudes that enable them to live and act to the greatest benefit of one another. The grand secret of social happiness lies in the cultivation of sympathy and unselfishness as an automatic reaction and attitude on the part of men and women on all occasions. We should all acquire the habit of abhorring unsocial behaviour. Lying, stealing, deceiving, cruelty and indulgence in animal appetites should become as disgusting as filth or unclean food. The need for cleanliness of mind is as great as, if not greater than, physical sanitation, and we must aim at spreading this habit of cleanliness of mind as a part of enlightened statecraft, as essential as physical public hygiene which is the concern of Health Ministries.

Bureaucratic rule under a foreign power having been liquidated, we have now each to find and fulfil our own responsibility in everything. The need for dynamic patriotism is not over with the attainment of national freedom. But dynamic patriotism no longer consists in irrelevant adherence to past dislikes and inhibitions but in the crusading spirit of purging out selfishness, and in making men and women constantly keep before their minds the welfare of the State as till recently they kept the elimination of foreign rule.

Citizenship is not merely a right arising out of birth and domicile. It is a culture developed by training and right emotional direction. Without it, freedom and democracy would be chaos. What I call the culture of citizenship is not to be confounded with nationalism. It is a pattern of individual conduct which alone can help democracy to produce social happiness.

We have eliminated foreign rule but that does not mean we should let the respect for law grow less or the authority of governments and courts to be reduced. It does not mean a reversal of all the good things that have been built up during the period of foreign rule. What has been found useful and built into national life should be conserved. Nine-tenths of the technique of progress is conservation of what has been found good on trial. More than anything else, patriotism as well as education must most seriously concentrate on restoration of a sense of values and the development of a habitual attitude of sympathy and unselfishness. If this work is steadily and faithfully done for some time, there will be a marvellous change in the face of things and there will be joy instead of anger in the minds of men, and work instead of despair and helplessness instead of faultfinding. Nowhere in the world does evil continue except for a while. Good sense asserts itself after some time and good replaces evil. This will happen also in our country. So, my young friends, be confident, trust in God and be brave. Work towards the establishment of the culture of citizenship which will operate as an inner law making people think and act rightly without any external sanction.

My best wishes to you all once again. Delhi is a noble and historic place, one of the great places of the world. Your University has the honour of being housed and looked after in the Metropolis of India where the relics of past greatness are all about you and you live in daily contact with the central springs of future greatness. Be worthy of Delhi.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF GANDHIJI'S DEATH.

Addressing a gathering of Ambassadors, Ministers, Officials and Government House Staff at Government House on January 30, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said.—

Twelve months ago Gandhiji passed away from us. Like the song which we heard on the violin just now and which has united with Akash now Gandhiji's life ended suddenly and we cannot see him any more. So also Gandhiji has joined *akash*. We can see the violin made of wood and string. But the song is gone. The musician can play again but we cannot make Gandhiji again. The pictures or busts we have are like broken fiddles which cannot produce the song.

It will not do to continue grieving. Our elders tell us that after the first month is over, there should be no more weeping. We should perform *Shradh* in order to please the dead spirit. Our daily work and thoughts must be the *Shradh* for our departed leader. Once a year when we meet and gather like this in memory of our dead leader, we should not weep. We should make it into a festival which will give us inspiration and strength.

We must derive from the memory of our departed leader courage to speak the truth, to be patient and bear with one another. If this gathering and the meeting we had at Rajghat this evening and the gatherings all over the country that have been held today, give us more strength to speak the truth and to bear with one another, then there is no doubt about it that Mahatmaji's spirit will be gladdened.

While he lived, everyday Mahatmaji was appealing to God that we may all have the good sense to love one another. We are all men, women and children—born in this world to love one another. It is only fools that hate each other. This was what Gandhiji taught up to the point of his death.

It is not enough if we are proud that we had Gandhiji among us. What we have to do is to do what he desired us to do. Living men may be pleased by flattery, we cannot please Gandhiji's soul by flattery and empty praise. We can please him only if we do as he wanted us to do.

Children can understand what Gandhiji wanted us to do—love one another. Grown up people find it more difficult to understand it. They think there are difficulties in the way of loving one another. Once upon a time Gandhiji was telling people that they would get Swaraj. Many

people did not believe him. In the early days, many people were asking 'How can you get Swaraj without war', whether there was any nation in the world that got free without bloodshed?

India has however achieved the seemingly impossible. India has gained freedom and we are now completely independent without having war and without shedding blood. We are not only independent, but without being a great Power, without great armies and navies, India enjoys the highest prestige in counsels of the world. That strength has been obtained by us by reason of the truth contained in Gandhiji's guidance of us.

Just as what Gandhiji told us about achieving Swaraj through non-violence proved true, what Gandhiji has told us about loving one another will prove to be equally true if we try and do as he told us.

Some people doubt whether Hindus can love Muslims or Muslims can love Hindus. Take it from me that what Gandhiji said that we can and must love one another is true. Nothing else is true. If we try, God will help us to succeed. We shall be not only as great as we are today, but we will grow in our greatness before these children here grow up. If we learn how to overcome prejudices in respect of communities, India will be great before the next few years and the world will respect us and follow us.

When on the 1st of this year India and Pakistan said they had stopped fighting, India immediately grew twice as powerful as she was before in the eyes of the world. Her voice now has influence with the whole of Asia. Asia met recently at Delhi and the voice of that conference has been powerful enough to save and help the people of Indonesia. In the path which Gandhiji has shown us lies our greatness and prosperity. If any man hates you, do not bother about it. Try to love him and that man will begin to love you. If other people tell lies, do not bother about them. Speak the truth and everything will go on well.

Our Government now is very strong and has great prestige in the world, but unless we keep our home affairs in good order, that prestige will topple down. If people in our country in their daily lives speak the truth and do not deceive one another, then our national prestige will be great. If we are dishonest and corrupt in our daily lives, everything will go down. Do not think of other people's faults: every man must try himself to be good. No cake can be good if the flour is not good. Our people are the

atta and Government the *laddu*. If people are lazy, Government will be poor. When we were not free, we had many people to look after us. Now that we are a free nation each one must look after himself. If I am a gardener and if I am digging, now that our country is free, it should not be necessary to have an overseer above me to supervise my work. I should do the digging properly myself. If you have seen bees collecting honey, you will have noticed that each does its work and the hive becomes full. There are no supervisors over the bees. We must be independent of any supervision. We must be honest and industrious, each by himself. It should be the pride and honour of every workman in free India to do his work properly without anybody goading him or threatening to punish him.

I am very grateful to the boys and girls who sang so well and helped this function.

LAUNCHING OF S.S. "CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI".

On the occasion of the launching of S.S. "Chidambaram Pillai" at Tuticorin on February 9, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

For many centuries before the arrival of the European Powers, the merchants of India had been crossing the waters of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean and traded overseas as far as China on the east and westward up to Africa. The temples and the culture of the people of the islands of the Indian Ocean and of the near Pacific are witness to the adventure and the sustained intercourse maintained by the people of India with those places overseas. It was not till Columbus's time fifteen centuries after Christ that European seamen dared lose sight of the Coast, but Hindus were making ocean voyages before the Christian era. I am repeating what Vice-Admiral W. E. Parry, our Naval Chief, said on a recent occasion. Indians were trading with Egypt and the Roman Empire crossing the Arabian Sea many years before Christ. There is ample evidence of this in Indian literature and art and in the works of Greek and Roman historians. Since the dawn of history, Hindus have crossed the Bay of Bengal and the waters of the Indian Ocean and colonised many Pacific Islands. Long before the Christian era, Hindus penetrated to Sumatra, Malaya, Indonesia and China. The Maurya Kings assumed as one of their regal titles the name of Lord of the Eastern Seas. Coming to more recent times, Fa Hien describes an ocean voyage in an Indian ship from

Orissa to Ceylon, thence to Nicobar Islands and to China through Malacca Straits. This was in the fifth century A D. It was in that same century that we established our rule in Malaya, Sumatra and Java. One dynasty or another of Hindus maintained this sea power in the Indian Ocean until the 14th century when it passed to the Arabs.

During the Hindu period of sea supremacy there was complete freedom of route and navigation. Pirates were suppressed and the route was kept open. We respected Dharma and claimed no monopoly. In fact the idea of claiming monopoly in sea-routes was unknown until the Portuguese did so in 1500. Until then Indians, Arabs and all other maritime people were using the seas as an open international highway.

The Portuguese claim of sea-route monopoly was stoutly opposed by the Zamorin of Calcut. Three sea battles were fought in which the Zamorin lost and as a result sea supremacy passed to the Portuguese. This was in the early years of the sixteenth century. Navy officers think that these battles of 1503 and 1509 were more important in deciding the fate of India during the next four centuries than Plassey and other land-battles.

During Sivaji's time there were battles between his fleets and the fleets of the Moguls. So our people are not new to sea-water. Anyone who has watched our fisher-folk, young and old, riding over the waves can have no doubt that our boys are not different in potential capacity from the boys of England. Our boys are as nearly related to Varuna or Neptune as any other people of the world. As for modern navigation and scientific appliances, too, it is admitted that our boys have been acquitting themselves very well. Therefore the dreams of Chidambaram Pillay and Subramania Bharati of loving memory are aspirations bound to be fulfilled in our time.

Chidambaram Pillay was one with whom I had the honour and pleasure of fairly close association. May his spirit bless our enterprise today. This vessel shall bear his famous name. I can imagine him looking on now at this function and at me with his large eyes full of tears of joy, not unmixed with generous amusement. Here I am inaugurating a shipping service from Tuticorin to Colombo with the co-operation of Messrs. Harveys and the B.I.S.N. Company and all the established authorities ruling India. The house of Harvey and the people that ran the B.I.S.N. Company looked upon Chidambaram Pillay as a terrible enemy and got Mr. Pimhey to try him for sedition and sentence him to two sentences of transportation for life.

The judgment was read all over India with indignation and horror. The High Court reduced the sentence to six years imprisonment. This was some mitigation of the injustice done. His offence was that he made the people of Tuticorin say "Bande Mataram" and that he was present at the meetings addressed by Subramania Siva and fully sympathised with him when he said that India should have Swaraj. This was forty years ago. They both suffered their six years and came out. Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State, refused to accept the recommendation that Mr. Pinhey should be made High Court Judge and he has written some very readable matter about it all in his Recollections. The wheel has turned a full circle round. We have the Swaraj which Subramania Siva and Chidambaram Pillay went to prison and suffered for. A son of the house of Harvey of the Coral Mills is my host today and the B.I.S.N. Company have withdrawn their service in favour of the good ship bearing Chidambaram Pillay's name. The wrong done to Tuticorin has been righted, and I have great pleasure in inaugurating this service and I have the honour of giving the name of our dead valiant hero V. O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAY to this ship that will carry our flag. The Scindia Steam Navigation Company has done and is doing a tremendous deal under its able and dynamic management to rebuild India's shipping industry. India is one and her pride is indivisible. But it may be permitted to the people of the South to take some pride in the thought that here it was that the great enterprise was first conceived of refloating Indian vessels on the sea and Chidambaram Pillay and Subramania Siva gave themselves up as a burnt offering in the sacrifice that inaugurated the adventure. Let past passions, follies and hatreds be buried. May Free India be glorious. My best wishes to the Captain and crew of this ship and the Managers of this service. May they do their bit to demonstrate that efficient and hard work is patriotism.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT JAIPUR.

Replying to the address presented by the Jaipur Municipality on February 18, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I thank you for the most affectionate and beautiful reception that you have given me. This gathering demonstrates how you love order and how you love art and beauty. Unless we love order, we cannot attain the full value of freedom. In a gathering like this we see indeed

that the roots of our culture are strong and deep. Unless our culture were strong and deeply rooted, we could not preserve order and we could not show our appreciation of art and beauty. I wish to impress upon you that unless we are orderly, we cannot progress. Everything we see now during this year shows that in spite of all that had happened before, we have realised the need for peace and orderly progress.

This city is an ancient and glorious centre of our culture. Your Municipal Commissioners have referred in their address to its history and its enlightenment and its place in Indian culture. But merely being proud of our past is not enough. We shall be ungrateful to our forefathers if we do not immediately set about improving our character and our daily conduct. If we are dishonest, we not only deceive our neighbours, we deceive and insult our ancestors also. Our forefathers did not build the fort and the cities that we now enjoy for dishonest people. It is only if we behave well so that the Great God is satisfied that we are honest and true and faithful to Him, that our freedom will give us any advantage or glory. If we deceive one another, this freedom will be worthless and all the world will point its finger of scorn at us. Let me tell you as the Head of the State that the whole world looks forward to India to show to the rest of the world how to live. If we had not had a great leader in recent times like Mahatmaji we might have escaped this attention; but after Mahatmaji lived his life and attained his glory, the whole world looks to us to discharge our obligations towards the rest of the world. Our leaders and our government cannot become glorious unless every one of us humble citizens, behave rightly and properly towards one another. Our glory in the international world rests on the foundations of our daily lives in this country. We should, therefore, be true and good in our daily conduct. Any fraud in a bazaar, any neglect of duty in the house, hurts the whole State. No crime or sin committed can escape its results. If we do not all try to behave well we cannot produce a total good result. We have no reason to complain. Our ancestors have left for us a glorious country, beautiful cities and talented brains. They have left us a wonderfully beautiful religion and faith, and culture and manners.

I give you all my best wishes. In Rajasthan you are going to erect a new order of government and you have every chance of becoming more important than Bengal, Bombay or Madras. In the old days when foreigners came, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were important because

they were the stepping stones for foreigners to get across from their ships into India. But in modern free India, cities like Jaipur in the interior, with an old history of freedom, will again get back their old inheritance. There is a great future before Rajasthan, there is a great future before your ruler, there is a great future before everyone of you, my brothers and sisters. The children who are gathered here have a great future when they grow up to be young men and women. The old people who now bear the burdens will have to go through some more difficulties and trials, but the young people will have everything made ready for them provided we all act honestly and well by one another. Do not imagine that difficulties are ahead of us. Difficulties are only a presage to glory which has to be attained.

Thank you very much once again for the affection that you have shown me. Friends, I see such a glorious future before the country that I wish I were young and lived more years than I could possibly do to see that glory. But as we believe in our religion, we live even though we die and I hope to see the glory of the country later on, even as our ancestors must now be glad that we are free. May Jaipur take a great part in the future greatness of India.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT AJMER.

Replying to the address presented by the Ajmer Municipality on February 19, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I am very grateful to the Municipal Council for the welcome they have read out to me. All towns these days are suffering from large populations and restricted finances. Ajmer too has grown and we need more money to keep the town clean and nice. I am glad to tell you that the Government of India is going to give you grants and loans. If we are good in our administration, it is not difficult to return any money spent on the improvement of a large town.

You have referred to the sacred character of this town. Not only Ajmer but every inch of land in India is sacred. There is no place in India where something great or sacred has not happened. Do you not know that Rama and Sita walked on their feet from Ayodhya to Ceylon? We need not go to places of pilgrimage to think of Rama. If we worship the memory of our great ancestors, wherever we are, whatever we are doing, we should behave rightly and properly. We have many sacred and beautiful places. We

should be grateful to the Moghul Emperors for the beautiful gardens, the beautiful tanks and the beautiful pavillions they have left to us. I am very glad that you are taking good care of the historic places. Ajmer's sacred temples and *dargahs* deserve your love and devotion. They are all sources of inspiration and without inspiration we cannot cope with the difficult problems we have to face these days. The skill and cleaverness of administrators cannot achieve much unless all of us, brothers and sisters, get inspiration from God. If we love and help one another India will become great. All roads lead to God, remember that. This was the lesson which Mahatmajī taught until the hour of his death.

REFUGEE TOWNSHIP AT JAIPUR.

After laying the foundation-stone of a Refugee Town at Jaipur on February 19, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

It gives me great pleasure to be present here and to perform this useful function. I do not know whether I should congratulate the Government of Jaipur or whether I should express my gratitude to them. This work is an obligation which the entire people of India owe to those who have been thrown into great and tragic distress as a result of the changes that we have had to go through along with the acquisition of freedom. No great gain can ever be attained by man without a corresponding amount of difficulty along with it.

We have to provide for innumerable families of what are called refugees. Families, which have not only been displaced but practically ruined, seek and expect help from the State. I am very grateful therefore that the Government of Jaipur have undertaken this difficult and sacred task in some measure. Unless all Governments throughout India and all the communities throughout India co-operate, this great and sacred obligation cannot be fulfilled satisfactorily and I am very glad that Jaipur has set such a good example.

Judging from what I see and from what I have heard I think this scheme will succeed. I wish all success to those who have put their patriotic endeavour in this task.

As for the name that is to be given to this colony, I would advise the authorities to wait till the whole thing is completed. I should like to give this new town, if I may so call it, a pleasanter name than anything associated with refugees and distress but we should give sweet and pleasant

names to them for the distress has to be forgotten and later it should be associated with something pleasant. Any name should be good enough provided our hearts are good and we all endeavour to put our love into the foundation. I do not want to put hatred into the foundation. Do not think of what has happened. Think only of what you are doing, namely the extension of human feeling, compassion and sympathy towards those who are in difficulty. The human family is one. We are all likely to commit mistakes. Let us forgive one another and let us remember the great truth that love will correct everything, that sympathy will rebuild everything that is destroyed.

I give you my best wishes, not only on my behalf but on behalf of the government which I represent.

AT THE DARGAH SHARIF.

Replying to the address presented by the Khadams of Hazrat Khawaja Sahib at the Dargah Sharif, Ajmer, on February 19, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

It has given me the greatest satisfaction that I have been able to come here. I hope you understand the sincerity of what I say when I tell you that I am glad that I have been with you in this sacred spot. A very great and good man's body lies buried here.

There are many ways which people are following in order to reach what they cannot see with their own eyes, namely, God. God is so great and so omnipresent that all ways lead to him. All the ways leading to God are sacred and we should respect them equally.

There are many places in the South where Muslim festivals are participated in by Hindus and Muslims attend Hindu festivals. Scholars may imagine that it is ignorance that makes Muslims join in Hindu festivals and Hindus join in Islamic festivals, but it is not ignorance, it is truly God's wisdom that makes them do so.

The highest wisdom that we can learn from our scripture or any other scripture, is that all ways lead to God and we must respect one another as brothers and sisters. Let each one of us who has some wisdom in him maintain this line of conduct, whatever others might do. I give you my own personal assurance that to me every mosque, every church, every temple is equally sacred. If in Banares we see on the banks of the Ganga not only temples but also

mosques, we must treat them all as equally sacred whatever may have been their history. Let us forget what has happened in the past, let us behave as brothers and sisters towards one another hereafter

In free India all of us are free. If India becomes great, all of us become great and derive the advantage of India's greatness. Do not have any doubts in your mind about this. This Government and this country is yours as much as it is mine, and I say this not carelessly but in the presence of your great saint. I thank you very much for the affection you have shown me and for the sacred presents you have given me.

AT THE MAYO COLLEGE.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Mayo College, Ajmer, on February 19, 1949 :—

MR PRINCIPAL, YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES & GENTLEMEN,—

I must thank you for giving me this privilege of associating myself with the activities here. I almost feel I have gained a few years by this experience. Nothing is more difficult than the problems of education in our country. I should say even politics, administration and international diplomacy may perhaps be easier than the problems of education we have to deal with in present circumstances in our country. Everyone knows what schools and colleges are for but very few can say precisely what should be done in order to attain the ends which they are intended to serve. And in our country we have further complications arising out of languages and religions.

I have gone round the school and I am quite certain in my mind that I have not seen any other school with such extensive accommodation, such fine buildings and such excellent staff. If I could by some magic give such schools to all the boys and girls in our country it will be a source of great joy to me, but you know very well that we cannot do it. If we are to attain our object, every home will have to become an efficient school and how can we make every home a good school for the children born in it except by succeeding more and more in making every mother an excellent principal? As everyone assembled here knows, what we want is not that boys and girls under the age of fifteen should be crammed with information but that they should be made to know how to think correctly and how to feel correctly. Not only the sense of judgment and the

power of observation of the child but also its sentiments and emotions should be trained and guided. Whether the school master can do this or whether the mother or the father can do this better than anybody else it is very difficult to say. Probably all will have to co-operate—some part of the training must be imparted in the home and some part by the teacher in the school to which the child is sent. In our country the master's work is complicated by the fact that the child may be a Muslim or a Hindu or a Jain or a Sikh or a Christian. The child may be speaking Telugu or Tamil or Hindi or Bengali or Hindustani or Urdu. The medium of instruction in schools serving a large number of children belonging to different faiths and speaking different languages is a headache to our headmasters and principals and educationists.

There is a great rage in the country for changing over from foreign things to indigenous things. So far as the question of a common medium of instruction for higher education is concerned, there is a slight thinking over again. In important institutions like this with large endowments and fine teachers, where boys from one end of the country to the other are brought together and trained, we have to fall back on some common language which is difficult to find at the moment. It may be possible to use English as the medium of instruction in these institutions but it is still an open question whether it is good to do so.

We have inherited the finest material in the world, both in culture and in brain matter but we have not yet evolved a system which could make the best use of this material. By and by we may be able to do so. Meanwhile we should not be in a hurry to destroy anything, especially in the field of education where men are still thinking hard to find out what is good. We should allow every experiment to go on and help the experiment, not merely tolerate it. This is the wisdom which I wish to place before you.

RAJPUTANA UNIVERSITY.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Rajputana University on February 20, 1949 :—

It is a very great privilege that you have given me this morning. I feel genuinely proud of having laid my fingers on the foundation of this new institution. We have

seen many changes during the past few years, not the least of them being the coming together of a number of States for the common purpose of raising the standard of life of the people that belong to our country. Hitherto governments centred round palaces, but now all administration centres round the life of the common man.

Our old culture has stood by us well. All new cultures coming into India found a highly synthetic capacity in the old culture that belongs to her by right of inheritance. This is a truth which could be seen with the naked eye if we go round, as I have done, your great city. Your forts, your works of art and your buildings, all of them are clear demonstrations of the high potentiality of our own culture to adopt and assimilate whatever comes from outside. It is believed by some that it will be a pretty difficult task to make the culture of Rajasthan adopt modern progressive ideas. I do not think so. All that I have seen in India, especially here, proves our capacity for absorption and assimilation of alien cultures.

If we look with an understanding eye into the culture that has produced the art of Jaipur, do we not clearly perceive that within a short time those who were the custodians of culture in Rajasthan whether in painting, literature or music adopted pretty easily what came with the Moghuls. Within a very short time there was a complete assimilation—such close and faithful assimilation that it is now difficult to say which was old and which new, which was earlier and which later. The assimilation is so perfect and yet they had not much time. The time that they had was divided between struggles and alliances. Yet in the midst of all this, a considerable synthesis has taken place. If we have found greater slowness, more hesitation and greater difficulty in assimilation of the modern ideas that came to India after the Moghuls, it is due to causes other than want of capacity to absorb. Something has prevented that close absorption and assimilation to which I have referred above. And personally speaking I do not regret the slowness. Being conservative, I rather think the danger to guard against is too rapid assimilation.

I have no doubt that Rajputana will be a progressive and prosperous State. May the new University help to build that prosperity. Nothing can be developed in the intellectual or spiritual field except by good leadership from above and a university can provide that organised leadership. A university should be autonomous and free from

political influences. Autonomy means really freedom from those influences which active politics are apt to generate in modern times. If that is ensured, the university is safe. Autonomy does not mean that the university should live in isolated obscurantism, not minding what is happening in the world but carrying on in its own way.

In this connection, there is one aspect of the matter to which most minds in Rajasthan would automatically refer in their innermost thoughts. In place of the many separate and autonomous states we are now going to have one integrated state. It is necessary to have a strong Central Government in India to which constituent units could look if we do not want confusion and deterioration. Dependence on a strong Central Government means, and necessarily involves, integration of various states. There are many advantages in such integration. You are now enabled to get larger finances for the university than you could possibly get from a single state. You can divide the faculties in such a way that you can all enjoy the advantages, each of every one else's efforts.

I have laid by your kindness what is called the foundation stone, although like many other things this is also a misnomer. I have touched it and you call that laying the foundation, but really the people of this State, the government of this State and His Highness, they have laid the foundation for this university and it is on their behalf that I have performed this pleasant function. The Government of Jaipur has given the land and have also given a Guru Dakshina, so to say, of rupees twenty lakhs along with the land which I hope will be enough to put up the necessary buildings. May your efforts in this University bear fruit and may all the future boys and girls of Rajasthan find here an *ashrama*, a place and a home where they can get all the learning and the spirituality associated with the great name of India all these centuries.

Nothing can be achieved unless we learn to be good and correct and self-disciplined and cultivate self-restraint and that which is called *dharma* in our beautiful language. Dharma is the stabilising factor for the whole world, and if this new university which will in the history that will be written, be associated with free India, truly a Rajaputra University, is built on that foundation according to its motto, nothing will prevent India from becoming great. I invoke the blessings of God on this new foundation.

ANNIVERSARY DAY OF KASTURBA GANDHI.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the Fifth Death Anniversary of Kasturba Gandhi at Gram Seva Centre, Lado Sarai, on February 22, 1949.—

Today is the sacred anniversary day of our Kasturba. Our duty today is to remember what she wanted us all to do. If a person dies with an unsatisfied desire, his spirit is believed to hover over us in order to enable and inspire us to fulfil that desire. Gandhiji died, all his wishes not satisfied: Kasturba passed away with most of her wishes not satisfied. It is our duty to complete and fulfil their wishes.

All the work that Bapu saw fulfilled was very good, but we cannot depend solely on governmental agencies for what still remains to be done. There is still ample scope for social work in the villages by non-officials. Just as we cannot depend entirely on canal irrigated lands but must also look after dry fields, so also some part of the nation's work must be left to be done by non-official agencies. That is why funds have been started and movements have been set going so that those things which cannot receive direct governmental attention may also be looked after. The work done by non-official patriotic workers is valued very highly by the government and must be kept going. I thank the villagers and the Congress Committee for their welcome addresses, and I shall ask my government to attend to the points mentioned in them.

There is no conflict between villages and towns. Villages want a market and that is why towns have come to exist in the world. Let us not get impatient and quarrel with one another. Let us all work each according to his capacity and everything will go well.

Like our old Rishis, Bapuji also has left behind him a Mantra which we should remember always. Ishwar and Allah are both God's names and this should be kept in mind with the same devotion as the Gayatri of our old Rishis. When our ancients gave a thousand names to God and asked people to utter those thousand names, they meant people to understand that God can be described in a thousand ways, and that we should not quarrel with one another over it. If anyone dishonours a man who worships God in a particular way, he dishonours and insults his own God. That is why Bapu asked the people to sing "Ishwar Allah Tere Nam".

We have started on a new career. We have our own government led by very good men and we should trust them. We must also do our own work properly and then all will be well with us. On your behalf may I say to the spirit of the mother whose death anniversary we are celebrating today that we will be true and loyal to her.

KAMALA NEHRU HOSPITAL.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the opening of the Begum Abul Kalam Azad Wing of the Kamala Nehru Hospital at Allahabad on March 1, 1949 :—

It gave me great pleasure not only to go round the hospital as it was but to have had the privilege of opening a new wing to the hospital to be named after Begum Abul Kalam Azad. The old hospital which was opened by Mahatmaji eight years ago is a splendid and beautiful memorial. I must say that having seen many a hospital in India I was pleasantly surprised to see the beauty of this memorial. The person in whose name and to keep whose memory fresh this hospital was opened by Mahatmaji is not among us to witness many things which would have given her the greatest joy conceivable. She is not alive to see India in her present status: she is not alive to see Panditji at the helm of affairs. I am a constitutional Governor-General, but I am also a human being and I can understand what a wife would feel and what a husband would feel. It is a great thing not only to see one's work take such a beautiful shape, to see a free country and a free nation but also to see one who was so dear occupy the highest position of responsibility. Pleasant as was my visit going round the hospital, I had all the time a background feeling of sadness, but it is no use dwelling on this. Mahatmaji's own partner in life, Kasturba Gandhi, was not alive to see the fruit of her husband's labour and sacrifice. But these are eminent names. There are many others about whom we can say the same thing, many husbands who now enjoy the fruits of freedom and who keep their sorrow a secret. But let us now look at the bright side of it. As I told you this hospital is a thing of which Allahabad can be proud. There are few towns in India where they have such a perfect work of modern science and economy and foresight. Hospitals must be like this if we are to speak about them as anything more than mere temporary devices. Allahabad citizens should be proud of those who have worked to make this memorial so beautiful and it is a great privilege that I have enjoyed this day.

Mahatmaji had described Kamala Nehru as a woman of spiritual beauty. She is gone but her spirit dwells here still and this hospital is worthy of that spirit. May the citizens continue to keep it in this condition and help it expand more and more.

I am so glad that I have had the personal joy of opening a new wing today to be added to the hospital and I am specially glad Maulana Sahib is here to see this good work of humanity actually performed. I am rather lucky. The Government of the United Provinces have increased their annual grant in a very generous manner and have given a promise not only to give Rs. 60,000 per annum, but have given Rs. 1 lakh immediately as donation. It is a very lucky thing for a man who is given the key to perform the ceremony of opening a new structure to have the opportunity to announce such generous assistance from the government of the day so that the management of the hospital may have no more anxieties. Dr. Jivraj Mehta, however, is thinking that I am overstating the case! He is still very anxious. He wants not less than Rs. 8 lakhs more in order to complete the programme of expansion. If Mahatmaji had been here, probably he would have emptied your pockets this very moment. It is a pity that I have not his authority. Unless I advise my Ministry to levy taxes, I would not be able to get all that money straightway. But I do think that the generosity of the people of India and of the United Provinces in particular, together with the great names with which we associate this hospital and this wing, altogether will make the work of collection not very difficult. I think that within the next two years Dr. Mehta will have his additional Rs. 8 lakhs for making his expansion programme complete. I want the audience to give their blessing for my prophecy.

LATE SHRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the cremation ground on the bank of the Gomati (Lucknow), where the mortal remains of Shrimati Sarojini Naidu had been placed on March 2, 1949.—

It is my melancholy duty to say a few words to you now. We have joined together to consume to ashes the body of our beloved sister.

All that was spirit in her went away early this morning. What was left behind was only common earth, air

and water. We have joined together to give back to Mother Earth and to Mother Air all that belonged to them out of that body.

The Vedic hymn that was chanted contained the prayer that the golden lid of truth may be taken out and we may be enabled to see the truth. Long have we to wait for the solution of the mystery of life and death. From time immemorial we have seen life and we have seen death. They will both remain still a mystery. All we can learn today is to look upon both life and death with awe and reverence.

The restless spirit that was encased in Sarojini Devi has found eternal rest. Let us be worthy of the illustrious dead whom she has joined. Let us be largehearted and never small-minded. That was the lesson Sarojini was trying to instil in us from one end of the country to the other until she died. May her work continue and her spirit hover over us to bless us.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT AMBALA.

Replying to the address presented by Local Bodies at Ambala on April 1, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said.—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am deeply moved by the kind words that have been put down in the joint address to me and I am grateful to you all for the affectionate welcome that you have given.

You have raised many points in your address which I am sure will be looked into and dealt with sympathetically by the Government of India and the Provincial Government. It is a sign of the times that when such a general statement is made now you appreciate it whereas in former times you would have smiled to hear such generalities. It is one of the results of the democratic form of government that now prevails. Your problems are difficult, but with patience, I assure you, you will be able to solve them.

You have suggested that the Central Government should explore the possibility of placing vacant land outside East Punjab at the disposal of the East Punjab Government for helping displaced persons. You have stated that vast lands are available and are lying unused in other provinces. The matter is not so simple as that. Our people have been sensible all through these centuries. We are an industrious people and there is not much land left uncultivated. The Refugee & Rehabilitation Ministry of the

Central Government have already arranged to place at the disposal of your Provincial Government nearly 600,000 acres of land for allotment to displaced persons. I have every hope that the land in the East Punjab, together with the 600,000 acres in Patiala and East Punjab States Union, and the facilities for irrigation which will be provided on the completion of the Bakra Dam, will help to rehabilitate our brethren in the East Punjab. The pressure on land is great all over India and in making allotments of available land we have to consider the case of all the people who, as a result of the partition, have had to leave their homes and seek a living in India.

The Rehabilitation Finance Administration have been directed to give preference in the matter of sanctioning loans to those who wish to start industries in the new townships, most of which are, as you know, in East Punjab. The Centre is also assisting your Government with funds from which to advance loans to those who seek to re-establish themselves. When cheap power becomes available on the completion of the projects, the industrialisation of the East Punjab will receive an additional fillip.

The Government of India is very much interested in the development of communications. The development of provincial and district board roads is, as you know, the concern of the Provincial Government. I hope that you will receive all possible assistance from your Government in this regard.

It has been decided, as you know, to appoint a committee to inquire into the question of the finances of local bodies and the point relating to the powers of taxation of local bodies, including the question of profession tax, will doubtless come up for consideration by that committee.

I can assure you that the Government of India will give sympathetic consideration to any scheme that the Provincial Government may put forward for their consideration.

Your Provincial Government, Friends, has had to face all kinds of difficulties, some which are common to other provinces and are well-known, and some specially arising out of your rebirth as a partitioned province. Taking all things into account, and I am not unaware of the shortcomings, the achievement of your Government is a record of which one may be justifiably proud. I congratulate you on your good fortune in having a Governor of great experience, commonsense and ability to advise and guide your new

born democracy. The manner in which the Ministers are willing to take advantage of this is most commendable. One of the chief elements that go to make democracy successful is the capacity to take work from loyal servants and experienced administrators without friction or inferiority complex.

Our new-found freedom should not be turned into a field for personal gain. As against the natural urge of the self, we must nourish and raise a love of our country's glory and welfare which will keep selfishness down and enable us to show a capacity for upright and industrious co-operation with one another, which alone enables democracy to function properly. Otherwise we shall be in the condition of a farmer who allows his cattle to eat up the stalks in his field before the corn is ripe. It may be good food for the cattle, but it will mean no food for the farmer's children and no seed for the next year. Our country and the Government are the farm and the millions of the country are the farmer's family that I refer to. Nothing is gained by merely changing the personnel of Ministries. What is wanted is a change of heart, the courage to stand up for the right.

RED CROSS AND ST. JOHN ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Addressing the Red Cross and St. John Annual General Meeting at Government House, New Delhi, on April 20, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am happy to extend to you all a very warm welcome and to thank you especially who have come from long distances to attend this meeting.

I appreciate greatly the generous manner in which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Shri Usha Nath Sen have referred to me. It is an honour for me to be associated with these two organisations and their noble work. I am afraid I have not been of much help to you since I assumed office, but I need hardly assure you that you can count on my full support in your worthy activities.

You have heard two very interesting reports of the services provided by the Red Cross and St. John organisations. I congratulate all those who have shared in these services, the illustrious as well as the humble and unknown workers.

We have been passing through times of great stress and strain. The troubles and travail that have been the lot of so many of our countrymen following the partition of our State have been partly lightened by the love and kindness that your workers and those of other philanthropic societies have given to the sufferers. I should like specially to thank those five hundred St. John Ambulance Brigade volunteers, men and women, who responded from various parts of the country to the call for duty in hospitals and camps. May God bless them all.

The work of rehabilitation of the displaced is truly Himalayan. It is taxing the imagination, skill and energy of our Government in the highest degree. I trust your members will continue to assist the Government in this work in every way they can.

I am glad the two societies have received a bountiful legacy out of the balances of the funds raised during the last war and have little doubt that you are planning to utilise the money wisely. Remember that it is not so easy in these days to raise contributions as it used to be in the old days.

The support that our Red Cross Society has received in its relief work from the sister Societies abroad is a very hopeful sign. The sixty-six national Red Cross Societies all over the globe are playing the noble role of uniting the human race. Charity and faith form so large a part of our heritage. I hope fervently that international fear will grow less and less and that the human race will justify its privileges by the establishment of an effective mechanism for the maintenance of peace.

Speaking of war and peace I am sure you are all gratified at the comforts which our Red Cross Society, in friendly co-operation with the Pakistan Red Cross Society and with the assistance of the International Red Cross Committee's distinguished delegates, has been providing to Indian Military Prisoners in the Attock Fort Camp. I am sorry that in one of your missions of mercy, the Indian Red Cross lost through an accident one of its officers, Lieut.-Colonel Nalwa. We offer his family our sincere sympathy in their bereavement.

The work being done by the Red Cross Hospital Services Section in looking after permanently disabled *ex*-servicemen at the Homes in Bangalore and Dehra Dun and by the Red Cross Welfare Workers in the field of diversional therapy

amongst patients in military hospitals is worthy of commendation. So is the provision of medical after-care to ex-servicemen in their homes, civil hospitals and sanatoria through the Society's special fund kept for that purpose.

I am very happy about the healthy habits and international friendliness promoted amongst boys and girls by the Junior Red Cross movement, also the laudable services to mothers, infants and children which the Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau continued to provide.

I commend Rajkumari's appeal to the educational authorities to encourage instruction and training in first aid and home nursing. This will be more useful than many other things sought to be taught and also much more easily inculcated. Apart from the direct advantages of such instruction, its cultural value is very great.

I should like to compliment all of you who are devoting your leisure to the good work of Red Cross and St. John. Both Rajkumari and Usha Nathji have spoken of the devotion to duty of Sardar Bahadur Puri who has been on deputation with Federal Public Service Commission since last summer, and Shri Brij Mohan Jolly, officiating Secretary-General. I thank these tried workers as well as the other staff at headquarters and in the Branches, and trust that under their two worthy Chairmen they will continue to give their valuable assistance to this humanitarian movement in which it is a privilege for any one to serve.

I congratulate those responsible for the get-up of the two annual reports on the most appropriate and beautiful frontispiece-pictures that adorn them serving so effectively to remind our countrymen of how greatly our departed dear leader valued such work as your two organisations are associated with.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S BODYGUARD.

Addressing the Governor-General's Bodyguard on April 30, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MY DEAR SOLDIERS,—

I am glad to be with you today. I have seen you often on duty before and seen how well you do your work. You are all excellent men and make me feel proud. You are tried soldiers with a good record of service as horsemen, parachute men and armoured car men. You have been specially selected to hold the much-coveted posts of duty in this House. You are the oldest unit in the Indian Army. Now that the foreign Viceroy is gone and a Hindustani is

the head of the State, your duty has become a patriotic duty to which you should attach even greater value than before. You should behave when in uniform and when in civil dress, when on duty or off duty, when in Government House or in the lines or outside so as to bring credit to the Army and to the Government and to yourselves. You should do nothing unworthy of a Kshatriya. Be like Bhima, Arjuna and Hanuman. They never did anything which Yudhisthira or Rama would disapprove. I wish you all good luck.

GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE.

Addressing the Governors' Conference at Government House, New Delhi, on May 8, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCIES,—

On behalf of myself and on behalf of the Hon'ble the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister I welcome you all heartily and thank you for undertaking long journeys to meet here today. I do hope you will not mind the inconveniences you are put to by reason of the time of the year you have been asked to meet. It was not possible to have this conference earlier and I tender my apologies for it.

We are meeting as in last year's conference informally. There is no specific official function that this conference can fulfil, but a great deal can be learnt from one another at this informal meeting which you could place at the disposal of your respective Governments. We shall as far as we have time, discuss matters which have been exercising your minds and on which you feel exchange of views would be useful. As Governors you must have watched and appraised with detachment the administration in your respective Provinces and it would be very useful if we frankly discuss such problems as have caused you any degree of concern. The Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister will only be too glad to have the advantage of knowing your mind on those matters so that they could shape their decisions and help good government all over India. Our meeting is not a public conference and there can be the most cordial and frank exchange of views. You should not imagine that you are just figure-heads and can do nothing to affect the governance of the country. Our Prime Minister and our Deputy Prime Minister do not hold that view. They want you to develop influence for good and they expect you to find means for achieving it without friction and without prejudice to the march of democracy.

Subject of course to the limitation of time we could with advantage discuss the following subjects:—

- (1) The law and order position in the provinces.
- (2) Public Safety legislation.
- (3) The R.S.S. ban and its aftermath.
- (4) Unlicensed arms and violent crime prevailing in certain areas.
- (5) The Communist party and its activities.
- (6) The Food position.
- (7) Agrarian legislation.
- (8) The Labour situation.
- (9) The Refugee problem.
- (10) Provincialism and the question of linguistic provinces.
- (11) Foreign Affairs.
- (12) The Rules of Business in each province in regard to the Governor and his work.

I should like to say a few words about the historic conference at London at which our Prime Minister was the central figure. We all know with what universal satisfaction the news of his great achievement was received in India. It was not just personal joy or pride. There was distinct political satisfaction in all circles. We know what great joy it gave to all people and all parties in Britain, in Ireland, in America and in all the countries of the world that desire the reign of peace and of democracy. But it gave no less satisfaction to thinking people of all classes in India. The croakers are few and far between and they are incorrigible. We know how this great and historic decision has changed the phase of things all over the world. Gandhiji has indeed made a posthumous conquest of the whole of the British Commonwealth. In saying this I do not underestimate the achievement of our Prime Minister nor say anything which he himself has not felt. India has worked a historic revolution for the whole of the Commonwealth along with the complete confirmation of its own independence. The moral gain for the British is great, but we have gained no less in demonstrating that the Indian people can forgive, forget and be great, and give in freedom what they resisted when demanded through force. Civilisation itself has taken a big step forward in this historic achievement. I am full of joy that I have seen such great things in my life-time. And on behalf of you all as of myself I tender our most cordial and affectionate congratulations to the Prime Minister on the historic part it was given to him to play in this connection. May his greatness still grow.

I am asking the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister to address us. While the international connections of India are very important, our internal affairs are no less important. Indeed the integration of India is the foundation on which our greatness abroad rests and our Deputy Prime Minister has, as all the world knows, done and is still doing a Herculean task. He still requires the goodwill, full understanding and cordial assistance of all to complete his great and difficult task. I request him also therefore to say to you a few words on this subject.

Once again I welcome you all.

BUDDHA JAYANTI.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Buddha Jayanti Celebrations at the Buddha Vihar, Reading Road, New Delhi, on May 12, 1949 :—

The Buddha Dharma is a diamond that has come out of the rich mine of ancient Indian thought. It shines as the brightest jewel in India's crown. The doctrine of life which Baghwan Buddha presented to the world brought lasting and world-wide glory to India such as no military conquest or material possessions could bring. Not by rituals can man save himself nor by any technique of self-inflicted pain. It is only by right thought, speech and action that we can save ourselves. Further questions about the mystery of life, I understand Lord Buddha refused to answer and this was right then and right now. It is not possible for us to pry into the ultimate secret of the universe which must remain a closed book to our imperfect minds. The doctrine of compassion to all life is what we should reinforce in our minds on this sacred anniversary day. Avoid all cruelty in thought, word and action. If we go wrong sometimes, let us repent for that will help to purify us and save us from repeating the error.

PATHALA LINGAM TEMPLE.

Declaring open the Pathala Lingam shrine at Tiruvannamalai on May 14, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I tender my grateful thanks to the kind sister, who has brought me down here and to all those who have helped her in the least to attain her object by helping the restoration of this temple and in organising this function.

The Tamil public owe a great debt to her for this gift of love. May her wishes and prayers be fulfilled. The great and good men who built the temples, which are the glory of our country, expect us to keep them in order and, from time to time, restore such parts of them as break down under the stress of age. This is the least we can do to express our gratitude. Otherwise, we shall earn the deserved ingloriousness, like sons who squander in dissipation their patrimony.

I thank you for what you have said about me. You have referred to me as the Governor-General. When we enter a house of worship, we leave our shoes outside and therefore, when I entered this shrine I have left my office at the gopuram gate and I am the humblest of subjects in that State of which He whom we worship here, is the Head and Ruler. Mrs. Feraza Taleyarkhan comes from a people who lived in distant Persia. Her devotion and purity of mind should be an example for us all.

Sardar Patel has sent a message which I shall read: 'Please convey to Feraza Taleyarkhan my best wishes on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Pathala Linga Temple. May it continue to serve the spiritual needs of an increasingly wider circle of devotees.'

Sri Ramana Maharishi has kept India's spiritual glory alive in our generation. He had, in his own way, made the name of India respected by wise and enlightened men spread all over the world even as Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and other saints did in former times. Ramana Maharishi's meditation took early shape in this temple. Let us tender our tribute of reverence and homage to the enlightened soul and may his prayers, on our behalf, bear fruit. Let us be worthy of him.

My stay here is brief and I have no time to give vent to my natural inclination to see old friends and have a quiet talk with them all. They are all in a mood of exaltation over the office that I hold. Their love is great but I am unable to sit and talk and give them pleasure. I hope they will all forgive me. They must remember that they cannot have it both ways, they cannot put me in high office and also enjoy my private company.

I find some people intrigued about my meeting with my old friend Mr. Naicker, soon after my arrival here. The truth is this. Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker wrote to me saying that he wanted to come to Delhi to meet

me. But I informed him that he might as well meet me when I came here and this is how we met today. Some people even say that I have omitted to meet everybody else and met the person who led a movement which is responsible in these parts for so much trouble, confusion and even breaches of peace and which looked down upon established institutions and traditions. They might ask, 'Is it not folly?' Mr Naicker and I are old friends, almost of the same age and are old enough to realise the transience of things on this earth.

We worked together closely for many years. Later differences grew between us and these differences have not affected our friendship. I want people to copy our example. The interview had nothing to do with public affairs or about the movement or his public activities but related only to personal matters about which he wished to consult me. There is no need for people to indulge in speculation in this connection about the future of the anti-Hindi movement or the self-respect movement or the chances of Mr. Naicker becoming a Minister. Let me clear all misapprehensions and speculations in this respect. It is just a simple matter of two old friends meeting and discussing personal matters and you need not attach any other significance to it.

Mutual affection and regard are essential for harmonious working of democracy. Government today in our country is by the people. There is no longer the authority of one ruler enforced by the power of the sword or bayonet. The Government is now by the people. It might be that the people have their shortcomings, such as ignorance, poverty and internal dissensions. Congregated in the temple of God as we are now, let us all unite in prayer to God to bless us with wisdom. Let us pray to God to bless us with wisdom, strength and unity to make our infant democracy grow with strength. Mutual affection will dissolve bitterness and disharmony, promote strength and help the growth of democracy in our country. Religion will bring people together. It should not divide. All religions are harmonising factors. We should develop the strength and religious spirit in us to make our religion a true cementing force. There need be no surprise to see in a vast country like ours with a great and growing population, that people have differences or there is poverty and ignorance. Let us renovate our hearts as we have renovated the temple and recapture the spirit of our ancient *Dharma* and then our strength, unity and happiness would be ensured.

When I met Mr. Naicker all these thoughts passed in my heart though of course I never gave expression to any of them. His followers think that temples and religious institutions are unnecessary and they are all intended for deception. A gigantic banyan tree grows out of a tiny seed. We believe this because we see it. But even if one does not see it, one could not doubt the truth. So too, we should not doubt either the Power from which the whole universe is grown. It is the same Power which we enshrine in our temple and worship. This universe could not have come out of nothing. Even scientists agree that nothing can come out of nothing. Of course, sceptics and rationalists may doubt it. But these are not new doubts. I myself when a youth did have similar doubts. Many persons in the past also had similar doubts. All these doubts must naturally be looked upon as part of God's *Leela*. We may look upon the self-respect movement as one of such *Leelas* of God. I want you to show love to these people. Through affection you can wean them from their disbelief. The bitterness and hatred which now animates them will then disappear. The secret of reforming them is in our own hands. I have therefore never been nervous about this movement nor one need feel worried about the growth of such unbelief or atheism in our country. After all, all of us want unity, mutual harmony and goodwill. The highest philosophy of all religions teaches the oneness and equality of all beings. Before God, we are all one and equal. Let our belief in God make us work for equality and unity.

ALL-INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

Addressing the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference at Bangalore on May 16, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I accepted the invitation of Mr. C. R. Srinivasan to have the pleasure of being with you on this occasion because apart from my happening to be in Bangalore at the time of your Conference by a happy coincidence, your new President is a very old and trusted friend of mine and in his elevation I find just satisfaction. If my experience of him as a careful and reliable adviser in public affairs has any value for you, you will hail his presidentship as a guarantee for a further year of successful co-ordinated work. Mr. Srinivasan is advanced in his views and he is shrewd and conservative in his method and is not ever likely to be led to

unreason by reason of emotion. He is a staunch friend to friends and a considerate opponent to opponents.

Bear with me if I speak to you, Editors in general, a few words of seeming idealism. I fancy my idealism is never anything but a practical way of life and a guide in the shaping of policy. Even as India has attained greatness in independence, the Press in India has attained great power, but with greatness as with power comes the burden of heavier responsibility. It did not much matter in the old days if in some ways the Press over-did things but today the great and enhanced power that the Press wields renders every error or lapse very dangerous. This is why increased stress is laid by all thinking men on quality and maintenance of standards in journalism. It would be quite wrong for you to feel that this stress laid by public men is due to a desire to interfere with the liberty of the Press or reduce its importance. It is a recognition of its much increased power.

I repeat what I have said once before that the Press in India does enjoy the greatest amount of liberty. It is not the statutes that give us a measure of the rights enjoyed by the Press. There may be terrible-looking laws in the Statute book, but to use a homely expression, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. On any day in the year I can, if challenged, produce a catalogue of things printed that day in the newspapers of India which would prove that there is no sort of restriction over writing or fear in the mind of journalists. The Government as a whole, the individuals composing the Government and even their private lives are subjected to criticism as free and unrestrained as any in the most inquisitorial press in the world. It is not the law on the statute book but the practice that should be the yardstick of appraisement. The statutes are there to provide for emergencies but hurt and restrain no one in fact. Your Standing Committee when it met in October 1944, adopted a resolution denouncing indecent personal writings bordering on blackmail. At Calcutta in 1945 you condemned the tendency in some papers to indulge in abusive and personal writings. You repeated this warning again in 1948 when you met in Bombay. In your Secretary's preface to the Conference report issued this month, he has rightly stated that the Press has had to move from self-protection to self-restraint and from self-restraint to self-improvement, and he has recorded with satisfaction that despite statutory restrictions there is a larger understanding between the Press and the Government which is based on identity of interests. Even as excess of indulgence in pleasure makes it more and more difficult to achieve it, excess of freedom and liberty of

expression defeat their own purpose. The more sensationalism is indulged in, the more difficult it becomes to produce the desired effect, for unreliability grows in the proportion of unrestrained publication. We all know that certain journals that are no doubt read much for entertainment really produce no effect on the readers by way of persuasion. No institution and no newspaper can be said to serve India well unless it promotes in some way or other goodwill and good understanding among the various sections of the people. The master-key to progress in all spheres is mutual friendliness and co-operation and the avoidance of conflicts. If individual newspapers, and the press as a whole, earnestly work for goodwill and make a determined stand against the growth of any form of ill-will, India will progress in spite of all our difficulties. I wish all our newspapers carried over their title page the motto, "Love and help one another". Every editorial and every news-item must be written and read on this background.

I should like to say a few words about the historic conference at London at which our Prime Minister was the central figure. We all know with what universal satisfaction the news of his great achievement was received in India. There was distinct political satisfaction in all circles. We know what great joy it gave to all people and all parties in Britain, in Ireland, in America and in all the countries of the world that desire the reign of peace and of democracy. But it gave no less satisfaction to thinking people of all classes in India.

There are of course some people who must find some points of difference which justify their attempt to live a separate and rival existence in politics. I think we may well ignore dissent based on fear and suspicion. India is too big now to suspect and shape her policies in fear. Every one wants some link with the rest of the world with which we are positively friendly. No one believes in lonely existence. The only alternatives were the one now agreed to and a treaty link. All thinking people were unanimous in discarding the treaty solution as something that would in fact bind more while being morally less valuable. The flexible and nobler link of cultural friendship without any specific obligations and fully recognising the sovereignty of India even up to the point of owing no allegiance to the King of England was therefore the only solution consistent with a desire to co-operate in the task of conservation of world peace and avoidance of war.

India has worked a historic revolution for the whole of the Commonwealth along with the complete confirmation of

her own independence. This decision is a posthumous victory for Gandhi by which he has wrought a sea-change in the character of the Commonwealth. The moral gain for the British is great for which they have expressed unqualified gratitude. But we have gained no less for we have demonstrated that the Indian people can forgive, forget and be great, and give in freedom what they resisted when demanded through force. Civilisation itself has taken a big step forward in this historic achievement. I am full of joy that I have seen such great things in my life-time.

Thank you for giving me the privilege of opening this your eighth session. In you lies the power to make people good and decent and orderly, and in you also lies the power to help Government to make good laws and govern wisely. When I spoke to working journalists on a previous occasion recently at Madras I said that I considered journalism a fine art and not a craft or just a profession. I still think so and wish journalists would accept my view in spite of difficulties pointed out in the critical comments of some journalists. The difference is not over facts but in the aim and motive of the work. I agree that journalists are mostly poor. so are the greater number of poets, painters, musicians and other artists. I agree the newspaper writers have not the leisure required for a fine art. But whether you are forced to work in a hurry or have time, your talents, work and motive are such as are associated with the category of literature, painting, music and sculpture. Bernard Shaw has said in some connection:

“Daily journalism is beyond mortal strength and endurance. It trains literary men to scamp their work.”

Journalism calls for the talents of an artist, the same breadth of vision, the same divine freedom, the same sense of beauty and the same restraints that art requires. Good journalism requires that its votaries should keep themselves up to the neck busy with other things than journalism, gorging themselves with life and experience and gaining other efficiencies if they are to do their work as good journalists. This is just the same with painters for instance, who have to go round the country and walk in the slums and streets absorbing experience, almost forgetting their particular work if they desire to do justice to their artistic work. I know you are amused at my presuming to advise in a matter wherein I have no experience, but you have asked a man without experience to open your Conference and speak. Whether you find my words of any use or not, I thank you for the honour done to me.

FAREWELL RECEPTION TO THE JAT REGIMENT.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the At-Home given to the First Battalion—Light Infantry—the Jat Regiment in the Moghul Gardens on May 28, 1949 :—

DEAR SOLDIERS,—

I am sorry you are going away from Government House. You have looked after me very well these seven months. You have given no cause for complaints although you were charged with unpleasant duties. No one likes to be stopped or questioned by a sentry soldier. We are a sensitive people. We have not yet learnt to take routine discipline as carrying no disrespect. I am therefore full of appreciation of the way in which you have done your duties both according to instructions and without cause of complaint on the part of visitors. Your behaviour has been exemplary. You have all been as good as the best gentlemen in the land. My best wishes to you all in your future work. Our country is great. Our Government is great. Be loyal. Be vigilant. Be good. Remember God whatever you do, wherever you may be, whatever the difficulty or danger. May the soldiers of India become famous in the world as a race preserving Kshatriya Dharma. You are all Hanumans guarding Sita our Motherland. Thank you. Jai Hind.

ALL-INDIA MUSIC SOCIETY.

Replying to the address of welcome presented by the All-India Music Society, New Delhi, on June 19, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

You have heard the warm words of affection that were showered upon me successively by the young Secretary and by the President of the Association. My friend Lala Shanker Lal said that he did not quite fit in with the office he has been asked to hold, namely President of the All-India Music Society. I suppose he refers to the fact that he is not a musician himself. But it has been said by people wiser than ourselves that a man who has to drive fat oxen need not be fat himself. It is not necessary these days for anyone to possess the professional equipment that is necessary for being a member of an association to become President of the Association. I have been asked to receive the address of welcome presented by the All-India Music Society recently formed in Delhi. I do not know why. I too can confess with Shanker Lal Ji that I am no musician. I can hear music because I have great patience, but I can-

not give any music because at the time of life when one can learn such things my father prevented me from going anywhere near music. He was one of those wise, latter-day old-fashioned people who thought that music was a form of idleness and sometimes led possibly to something worse than idleness. I was therefore subject to paternal discipline and being naturally an obedient son I kept away from music. You know very well that any attempts to learn when one is older and wiser are of no use and we shall not only be a trouble to ourselves but a trouble to other people if we begin to learn music when one is not fit for it and we begin to inflict it on others either because one holds an important office in some other direction or some other reason of that kind. So Mr Shanker Lal is in very good company with me today so far as my position goes.

My friend Mr. Ananthasayanam Aiyangar on my left, I think, is a better speaker than a musician. I do hope he will not, because he has been appointed Chairman of the Reception Committee, seek to thank the audience at the end of the proceedings in a musical way. I do not know about the permanent President. I guess from the face he is a musician, but not knowing anything more about it I shall not venture to say more. As I told you, friends, I need not be a fat man myself in order to drive fat oxen. So I shall try to give some words of advice. It is not my habit to receive compliments and go away feeling proud about it. It has been my habit to deal with the compliments lightly and at once proceed to give in a conceited manner some wise words of advice to those who gave me compliments.

You have started a Musical Society recently here and you have called it an All-India Music Society. If you will forgive me, I deprecate such all-India tactics in the field of music. If you want a political association and wish to federate smaller bodies and dominate over them, by all means start an all-India organisation. If you want to co-ordinate activities that are going on in a superior manner and prevent disorders and inharmonies by all means start all-India organisations. But in music my unlearned wisdom tells me that it is better to let people sing as they like in various parts of the country and not try to inflict upon them a co-ordinating federated all-India doctrine of any kind. You will soon be landing yourselves in trouble if you try to do it. If you wish to succeed you must allow freedom. Then comes the question of all-India patronage. I might allow you to try all-India patronage in any other

matter, but if you try it in music, you will only be inviting trouble. There will be so much competition for patronage and anything you may do, right or wrong, will be resented. If you give Rs. 1,000 to a good musician from Calcutta, an equally good musician from Poona will be very angry and he will demand Rs. 1,001/- and you will not know where to find the money. Governments keep away from patronage of fine arts by way of federated domination or things of that kind. There are no people so quarrelsome as the artists. They are very good in their own art but when they step out a bit, they become most inartistic and inharmonious. Although you have baptized yourselves all-India—you cannot get out of it now—your Association must try to be careful and cautious, and you should not try any all-India tactics with reference to musicians and artists. They are the last persons to be dealt with in that way.

Now I may give you some precedent for this. It is not my arrogance or ignorance that makes me talk like this. Take the great Oxford University, for instance. It is a very old body. Yet they do not call themselves All-England University or All-English University. They are only Oxford University. People go to it because there are good people in Oxford University and people are guided by the quality of the University. Even a man who has passed his Cambridge Senior *in absentia* in Delhi, tries, if possible, to go to Oxford University. Similarly with regard to Cambridge University. They do not call themselves All-World University or by any other name like that. Take Harvard in America. They do not call themselves All-America. It is the quality that decides and therefore if your Society is properly financed and works properly you will flourish. If you get good musicians of the country and make people see that the best musical performances are available in Delhi and not in Bombay, Calcutta or Madras, then gradually you will become like Oxford or Cambridge, an all-India Music Society in fact.

You have to struggle hard. You have taken a great name. The struggle therefore will be very hard. You will have to work up your way to become a real all-India Music Society. Let me tell you I come from a very music-ridden place in the South—Madras. I have suffered from it! There are first class fine-art associations, music societies, musical academies. When the Government of India desired to start a Music College in Madras, one of these institutions, or more of them, said "What, when we

are here, you propose to start a music college? You may be the Government of India. But what do you know about music?" They are perhaps right, but you see the temper of artists. There are very good academies in Madras who have done very good work over a number of years. They have given prizes and good performances and musicians respect those organisations. You have to work your way against such competition. I know in Maharashtra and in many other places there are very good musical academies, but as I have no personal knowledge I shall not tell you stories. Therefore those who have money in Delhi must put their hands deep in their pockets and enable this Society to grow strong for it is money that brings the best musicians. You have to pay heavily. Musicians now-a-days charge nearly as much as big lawyers. Otherwise you do not get good music.

You want classic standards which may not attract huge crowds or immediately tickle the fancy of the common folk, yet they are the standards necessary. So also about language. Colloquial language is good and powerful. In fact if you wish to convince a man you must use colloquial language but if everybody is allowed to use colloquialism as he likes without the standard Oxford Dictionary, then the language goes down and finally it will become a jungle. So that however strong and powerful colloquialism may be, you want a standard for the language also. So also with respect to other matters. Roughly drawn pictures are sometimes much more powerful and very costly. Nobody can easily understand them, but those standards are necessary. In that way you will have to maintain classical music.

Delhi probably was a great place for music in the old days. Music flourished here. Then the British came and they brought their own music with them. Let me tell the few Britishers who are here that frankly speaking no Indian appreciates English music, and even if they say they do appreciate it, they should not believe what they say. They are only polite. All oriental people are extremely polite. The Royal Power did not do anything really for music in India. Now we have democracy. Is it going to do better? It all depends on those who conduct academies of this kind. If you wish Delhi really to recover its old prestige of art under the Moghuls, you will have to work hard. That way Delhi is a good centre for being an all-India association. But things grow naturally, and therefore it is that probably you have better academies in other places where a lot of work is already done. Whoever is

responsible for this all-India society has taken over a heavy responsibility.

I do not know why you asked me to receive your compliments. Is it because you think I can induce my Finance Minister to find money. Unfortunately my Finance Minister is a very hard-boiled egg. He will not give money unless you prove your merit and if you prove your merit, you do not need this money! When Government pays money, it will call the tune also, more particularly in the case of a music society. Therefore you cannot expect much from the Finance Department. Of course if you organise schools and colleges for music on the educational side, the Finance Minister will have to listen to what you say, but it would be difficult and I do not think it would be wise to expect government help. I will give you an extreme instance only and I hope you will not take me seriously. If you ask me to give money from Government, I would ask you to make songs in praise of myself, put it in the best tune possible and make it popular. The people will sing the music but I get the honey of my name. That is what democratic governments are like. You take money and compose songs in my favour. Then in the next democratic election, the opponent will be very angry with you and if he defeats me you are lost for ever. It would have been different in the case at least of a hereditary monarch because he and his children, grand children and great grand children will all be pleased to hear their ancestors in song and music and therefore monarchy has a firm hold on patronage for music. But in democracy one does not know what would happen later on. Therefore do not depend upon democracy for help. People like our Shankerlal Ji are the real guardians of art. It is the big people of Delhi, the old Houses of Delhi, those who, so to say, are the aristocracy of ancient Delhi, it is they that must take up the responsibility of bringing art to its proper metropolitan stature in Delhi.

I want music to flourish and to be alive in India. Music really binds people to one another. Is there anything in India today which attracts greater attention and appetite of people all over India than music? This is not the case with respect to matters like food, religion and some other things. As for religion there is so much diversity, and the less said about it the better. But music is one in India. Some people are very fond of classifying things, like the Madras school of music, Fyzabad school of music, Maharashtra school of music, the Karnatic school of music, the Andhra school of music, the Tamil school of

music and so on. There is nothing real about it. Music is enjoyed all over India by all people without any distinction. Music is as single and entire in India as, for example the *pan* leaf. Everybody likes *pan*. As regards English music which I referred to before, it may better be called Western music. You cannot enjoy it in India. But if it is Karnatic *sangeeth*, Assamese *sangceth*, or anything like that, everybody enjoys it, and if it is a little out of the way, he likes it the more! Therefore music is an important thing that binds India together. Also it is not enough that a thing should be common. There are some common vices. They are not good at all. As a great Englishman said, music is one of those sensual pleasures which is not a vice and that is why music is a good thing. Music has its origin in religion. It has its roots in religion even now everywhere. In India you cannot have music without religion. The word 'Ram' is sung in various tunes by Thyagaraj. Every song in India worthwhile hearing has its roots in religion. Even if it be a little bit about love, you will find the musician cleverly bringing it down to religion in order to give life and vitality to the song. Listen to some good music and when you are listening its compelling power is such that you are drawn completely under its influence. You are not in those surroundings as are tangibly around you, but you have withdrawn yourself from them. For the moment you think of nothing else. When a bad man hears music, even he forgets wickedness for the time being. Music is a great asset for any nation that wishes to progress and be good and make a mark in the world for righteousness and joy. Music is an essential part therefore of the national programme. But national programme does not mean government in every aspect. Many things have to be done by non-government agencies. Music is therefore a good and necessary thing. That is why I presumed, Mr. President, to give advice. I am eager—indeed most earnest—that your Association should flourish.

An Indian could not become a Governor-General unless there was independence and therefore independence goes with a Governor-General, and independence is an inconvenient thing. It is not a mere toy. It is not composed of music. It is hard work. Men who are idle or dishonest or lazy are not fit to be citizens in Free India. Our first year of independence has been very hard and Mr. Ananthasayanam Aiyangar says it will become harder still. But do not get gloomy. There is no reason to get depressed. We are such a fine people in India. By birth, by nature, we are good people. We have a great civilization. We have a

great classic literature, religion and civilization. We are a brainy people on the whole. I do not say we are better than other brainy people. That would be foolish to claim because if we had been better, we would not have been ruled by other people. All the same we are a very brainy people. We are not only good and brainy people, but we are large in size. We are 350 million possessing a common culture. Even illiterate people are brainy people. I have lived with them and I know how brainy they are. Therefore why should we feel depressed? All wealth is only hard work. If therefore we work, there is no question we shall be great and wealthy.

Thank you once again for all the kind words you have spoken about me.

THE FOOD PROBLEM.

Broadcasting to the nation from the Delhi Station of the All-India Radio on July 6, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

When I was in Simla last month for a week's holiday, I invited those who expressed a desire to see me to what is called an At-Home. In the old days an At-Home meant alcoholic drinks. But now of course no such thing is possible. We had some soft drinks and what was permissible under the Entertainment Laws by way of chewing. We had asked everyone who had signed his name without looking into his rank or profession. So that I was able to see the glad faces of nearly fifteen hundred Simla residents that evening.

The report of this gathering in the newspapers alarmed some good men who thought I had called together fifteen hundred men and women and feasted them in old Viceregal Lodge and wasted a lot of food when there was so much talk of shortage and appeals for austerity. They did not know that we spent not one ounce of rice or wheat or millet or of pulses over this Simla At-Home. It was indeed a miserable miser's fraud. But this alarm brings to notice once again the anxiety of people over the food shortage in the country.

I am not an expert but I think you will listen to me all the same. Do we as a nation wish to live and make our mark as an independent and civilised people? I suppose

we do Well then we must sit up and think this food shortage out and do what logically follows. Otherwise we break

Money can be printed and during short periods of emergency we can use such printed paper to borrow service and labour to meet the emergency appearing to pay for them. Later we should gradually withdraw the excess money and restore normality. Excess money in circulation does nobody good. It just raises prices Money is not wealth. It is just a ratio-tool and a credit-token

We have to pay for what we import from other countries by producing goods in our own country and exporting them in payment of our dues for imports Our own paper-money is of no use in this connection What we get from abroad must be paid for fully, if not now, next year or the year after, if we can get our foreign friends to wait that long. If we get machinery for industries or manufactured articles for use or foodgrains to eat, we must pay back either in services rendered or in raw materials or in manufactured articles or in gold or other precious metals All these have to be exported in such shapes and kinds as are wanted abroad and are acceptable

Now it is well-known India cannot send much out in these ways. Once upon a time we were growing enough food for our people and were also able to produce certain other raw materials or partially prepared stuff for which there was an eager demand in the foreign countries which supplied us the manufactured articles that we imported. We were exporting raw materials so much that we had an account in our favour as net result. We are importing at present a great quantity of manufactured articles from abroad as well as a considerable quantity of foodgrains. For payment we have been depending on our war-time savings banked in England instead of producing extra goods for export This is good enough for the time being

But this cannot go on for ever, can it? We must stop importing to the extent we cannot export If we do not ourselves stop, it will stop of itself. We must cut our imports down according to what we can now export, and wait for improvement in the latter before we order things from abroad. But whatever we may or may not do, we must eat. Anything may wait, but not this. We have to produce all the food we require or we invite famine and chaos which will reduce our population. Nature is a relentless accountant and works automatically.

Government programmes to build new dams and reservoirs to bring in new areas under cultivation depend on help from abroad in various ways. This again brings us up against problems of foreign exchange, that is, the problem of payment in goods for the expensive machinery and services that we have to import from abroad. Government try to get these things on credit and are doing their best.

These and other large problems are being tackled by our Government who are doing the utmost they can. Foreign Governments also have not been ungenerous or unhelpful. They are indeed doing all they can to help us because they know India is a great country with plenty of natural resources as well as a very brainy industrious population, and so India is sure one day to be a great and valuable unit in the civilized world. Our brains and our working capacity, which together form the principal element in wealth, are quite good in quantity and quality. Every one in the world admits this. We cannot however fulfil these high expectations unless we in the meanwhile produce enough food to live and work efficiently. Even if we are unable to do much at once in the way of producing manufactured articles in surplus for export, we ought to grow all the food we require.

We are a rice-eating people. We also consume a large quantity of wheat. We cannot easily and at once expand the area under rice cultivation. The shortage in one kind of food can be made up by another if we know how to adjust ourselves. We cannot afford to sit still until irrigation schemes for increased rice cultivation are completed. We must grow such things as can be immediately grown by way of food, whatever they may be. We can produce more millet and pulses and tubers than we do now. We must raise poultry for eggs and grow fish in our ponds and fruit and vegetables in our house-yards and make up for shortage in calories.

The standard of life among the working classes has gone up. It *must* go up and it is well that it has gone up. The peasants and landless rural labourers who used to eat ragi, maize or millets, and ate rice only on festive and rare occasions, now eat rice generally and are not happy unless they get it. Besides the change-over in habit, population has increased. There is thus on the whole a great increase in consumption of rice. This is as it should be. But it is not altogether good. In the first place a pure rice diet is not so good for health as it may be for taste. But apart

from this we have as a result gone short of rice. We cannot easily expand the area of rice cultivation, for it requires dams and canals which involve vast expenditure and cannot be got ready quickly. We can however raise more millet and pulses and tubers without large irrigation projects. It is therefore desirable that the fashion must be set for greater consumption of ragi, cholam, maize and millet. Nothing can be done by way of setting a fashion except by the so-called upper classes. What they do is eagerly copied by others. Like jail-going, hobnobbing with out-castes, spinning, wearing Gandhi-caps, millet-food must be made a patriotic high class fashion. This will lighten the present load on rice.

This great mother the ground on which we walk and live, is a wonderful mother, most generous, most forgiving and most skilful. Put anything into it, be it the worst rotten stuff, mere offal or what we throw out as excrement, this ever-loving sleepless mother converts it for us by an alchemy of her own into rich food which shoots up, juicy and fragrant. But she requires a little help from us, just a little help and some watchful co-operation. You must know what to sow as seed and when, and look after the shoots that come up. The earth returns with interest what you put in. Receiving offal and excrement, she gives us back pumpkins, cucumbers, bananas, whatever we know how to raise.

Urban authorities should consider it their sacred obligation to collect and conserve town refuse and make good manure out of it and place it at the disposal of gardeners and cultivators of land at a reasonable price. People gather more and more into urban areas and it is the duty of the Civic Authorities to remember their obligations to the rural areas that feed the towns and return at least in part the nitrogen that flows into the urban areas. This can be done by careful conservation and disposal of the organic refuse of the towns. Apart from animal droppings, what is thrown out by townfolk is a continuous and considerable drain on the rural areas unless there is an organised movement of manure from towns to villages.

What is required is increased interest in raising something by way of food wherever you can and whatever it may be. Now, who is to go round and tell people all this and not only tell, but make people do it? Who did it for weaving and spinning? Who did it for Hindu-Muslim unity? Who did it for removing untouchability? Who did it for fighting

the drink-evil? Not Government anyway! The people organized themselves under Congress direction. Government did not and would not do it in the days that are past. Now however Government are not against the people. They are with the people. But Government cannot do some things. They cannot do what individuals and organized groups of individuals can alone do. Officials cannot effectively spread themselves over the vast country and even if they could, it would cost so much that it is impossible. An unofficial nation-wide movement alone can do it. Government will help, but self-help and patriotism produce more than official patronage or interference.

I am speaking frankly and as a citizen. During these last sixty years, whenever there was a great national movement needed in India, the Congress undertook it and did it. The Congress in constructive work is not a party. It is the aggregate of disinterested energy that belongs to the whole nation. In its khadi work, in its Harijan work and in all its other constructive work in the past, every one that was ready and willing to help was welcome to join. While Congress took up responsibility, it did not exclude any one.

Congress can lead a movement for food-growing and save the country from bankruptcy. But it can succeed only if the people co-operate with fanatical zeal in this as they did in other things during the last three decades. It will be a glorious achievement and pave the way for the fulfilment of all our other aspirations.

PRESENTATION OF THE FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE MEDAL.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the presentation of the Florence Nightingale Medal to the Chief Principal Matron, Mrs. Dorothy Howard, Indian Military Nursing Service, at Government House on July 18, 1949 :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It is a pleasure and a privilege to do honour to Sisters who have, for their services in the great work of Nursing, been awarded by the International Red Cross the Medal that bears the noble and inspiring name of Florence Nightingale.

Mrs. Dorothy Grace Howard who is here with us and Miss Mariamma Thomas who is away in England, have distinguished themselves by exceptional devotion, skill and knowledge in Nursing. Mrs. Howard tended the sick and the wounded in different theatres of the last war and

organised with ability military hospitals at Colombo, Kirkee and Rome, and earned promotion to the highest rank in the Indian Military Nursing Service. She is now to be decorated with the Florence Nightingale Medal. Miss Thomas has been awarded the highest honour in the field of Nursing for her exemplary work under trying conditions for the relief of pain and distress in the Refugee Camp at Kuru-kshetra soon after the partition of the country.

There is nothing more noble in the world than the work of Sisters engaged in the relief of pain and rendering the motherly assistance that is required to make medical help effective. As long as such work is being cheerfully done by an increasing body of our women, we may hope that the doctrine of love and compassion will one day be restored to its rightful place in the ordering of human life in spite of so many seeming cruelties and obstacles.

When Florence Nightingale went at the age of 34 to Crimea in 1854 with a band of 38 nurses, the principles of hygiene had just begun to be understood. She applied these principles to Hospital administration wrestling with all the difficulties she met with, which included the opposition of the Military Commissariat officials who looked upon her as a dangerous innovator who had come to disturb the even tenor of military administration. The death rate in the barrack hospital was 42% in February 1855. It was reduced to 2% in June that year. Florence Nightingale remained in Crimea until the British evacuated Turkey in 1856. Her work became the wonder story of the times. Longfellow sang the legend in a poem. A battleship was ordered by the British Government to bring the heroine home and London prepared a royal reception for the lady. But she returned home in a fast French ship and crossed over to England and reached her country-home before the news could leak out. Florence Nightingale was an extraordinary soul, one of those spirits that are born from time to time to improve life on this planet. Sisters present here, this medal which Mrs. Dorothy Grace Howard and Miss Mariamma Thomas will receive is one which you should consider as belonging to the whole of your noble fraternity. Since Florence Nightingale's time there have been great advances in medical knowledge, particularly in bacteriology, which have revolutionized nursing. It is now not merely a charitable service rendered under the encouragement of religious orders, but a vocation for which a strenuous scientific course of study and training has to be gone through. But unlike most other professions wherein

skill and scientific training produce success, the avocation of Nursing requires a quality apart from skill and accurate knowledge. The gentle and compassionate spirit with which all feminine hearts are naturally endowed is prone to be dried up and lost in the course of hard work and professional activities. But it is the spirit of love and pity, the urge to share and alleviate pain, the mother's heart that is in every unspoilt woman which is the greatest equipment for a nurse beyond all special training and scientific knowledge. It does not consist in polite speech but its home is in the heart and it shines in the eyes and makes the voice sweet in the ears of suffering. Keep this life-giving spirit intact, Sisters. Let science serve love and not smother it. If gentleness disappears or becomes feeble, then you will fail in your vocation. Your punctuality, industry and correctness of deportment may please the administrator, but unless your heart is truly gentle and loving, the patient's eyes will not brighten as you go near his bed. My congratulations to Mrs. Howard and my best wishes to all assembled sisters and those whom they represent.

HANSRAJ MORARJI SCHOOL.

Addressing the students of the Hansraj Morarji Public School on August 7, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

Being a Governor-General I cannot speak whatever I might. The practice that has come down through a number of able statesmen to me is to prepare a speech beforehand and to read it. It is good that you understand why this is done. Men who are put in responsible positions should take time to think before uttering anything. They should not say things offhand for there is a likelihood of some mistake being committed. Mistakes committed by ordinary citizens can be corrected and have not the same wide scope of producing mischief as mistakes committed by men in important positions. So the practice has been for all speeches to be carefully prepared and the person who is made to officiate before you reads it as if it were all his own! This is what is observed on occasions of any degree of importance. But on a very festive and joyous occasion like this, no great harm may be done if I talk freely and without any paper before me.

Whenever I come to a gathering like this in spite of all that I have read in the Hindu scriptures that we should try not to be born again, I feel strangely a desire to be born again and to become a young boy to be admitted in a public school like this. But once I am born again, God knows

what will happen to me. I may not be attending any school at all for all that I know. When my elder brother (Shri K. M. Jhaveri)—he is twenty years older than myself though he is stronger than I am and does more work than I do—when he referred to a matron in the school who looks after the hair of the boys and girls, poignantly my mind went back to the time when I was in school and there was nobody to look after my hair. I went through painful tortures in those days with my hair. When I was a boy we had a lot of hair with lice in it. When I was a little boy living far away from my home, there was nobody to look after me. Hostels were unknown. There were only what are called hotels where men made money by feeding the poor boys. In those hotels there was no matron, nobody to look after your hair. How often did I not wish I went back to my home and lived with my mother and had my hair properly looked after. But now you have got all the facilities which the trustees and managers of your institutions are eager to give and are competing with similar institutions elsewhere to give.

My best wishes to you boys. You are more fortunate, not only more fortunate than I was when I was a boy but more fortunate than other boys in the country even today. You should be grateful for this good luck you enjoy. You have a better school to grow up in than millions of other boys who did nothing to deserve their bad luck. Think of it. Make the best use of your good fortune. Build your character, your heart and your brains so that when you are out as grown-up men, you will be useful to the country, help to make India great and happy, leading others that stand in need of guidance. Do not contemplate misery. Always be cheerful. The best energy issues out of innocent laughter. Love your studies and respect your teachers. I have done God bless you all.

Before I sit down I must express my great appreciation of the wonderful work done by the Trust. I wish the Trust all success in the further endeavours they will undertake. Thank you all.

ULHASNAGAR AT KALYAN CAMP.

Unveiling the foundation tablet of the Ulhasnagar at Kalyan on August 8, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR. PREMIER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you for the very great honour and privilege you have conferred on me on this occasion.

I congratulate you and all your colleagues and every one who has contributed to give shape to this great enterprise.

You are right when you emphasize that we should scrupulously avoid defeatist and desperate talk.

It would be superfluous on my part to add anything to the wise things you have said about rehabilitation, except to say I endorse all that you have expressed. All over the world the present is a time of tremendous strain and trouble. India has achieved a gigantic task and has gone through and is still to go through enormous difficulties. Every achievement of freedom and national honour is in essence a repayment of a very old debt which according to the inevitable laws of nature gets loaded with compound interest. It should be no surprise therefore, except to the simplest among us, that immediately after the achievement of independence we have had to face so many complications and formidable misfortunes and difficulties. The law of Karma is a law of nature and not a mere dogma or creed of priests. If we let things go wrong for centuries, and we set things right after a lapse of many generations, we are bound to pay a heavy burden of accumulated interest. We cannot let ourselves be baffled by this or lose patience and indulge in mutual quarrels and dissipate our energies in bitter talk.

You have rightly made a fervent appeal for sympathy and understanding and co-operation. I join in this most earnestly. Misfortunes have a knack by the grace of God to become blessings in the end. Let us approach our tasks with a pure heart and all will be well.

Invoking the grace of the Almighty and the blessings of our ancestors I shall unveil the foundation tablet on behalf of the people of India.

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the opening of the new building of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay on August 8, 1949.—

Mr. Munshi is mainly responsible for my presence here among you today. I thank him and his colleagues for the honour of being associated with this pleasant function.

Mr. Munshi, like many another among us, has been attached to a profession which does not give scope for his talents and natural tastes to find proper expression or

satisfaction Mr. Munshi's love of Indian culture and Indian classics and his taste for research and scholarship could not however be suppressed or overwhelmed by the Law Courts. Busy as he has been in Court and Parliament, his love of Indian culture and scholarship has found expression in his work for the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. His dissatisfaction with present-day University education in India and his strong conviction that something is wanting therein led him to take the initiative, to discover kindred spirits and sympathizers and with their help to found this institution. Those who are acquainted with Mr. Munshi's personality, his energy and his impatience of delay would see nothing surprising in the rapid execution of the plans in respect of this Bhavan. But judging by normal standards, it is remarkable. When I refer to Mr. Munshi, I do not forget the energetic part played by Mrs. Munshi. Mr. Munshi has referred to her services in a fine manner and I congratulate him on overcoming his natural embarrassment in the cause of truth.

Dealing with primary education, whether it be reading, writing or arithmetic or learning through work or education through joy, whether the child should be soaked in symbols and inured to bewilderment and pain from the earliest period of his life or should be allowed to deal with things and play and work making little difference between the two and finding joy in both—whether we call our method Project Montessori or Basic or any other dear name, the education of our children must be planned so as to suit our present conditions, for obviously we cannot change these in order to suit our pet ideas. If you sit down and apply common arithmetic to your plans and to the national income on which you must ultimately draw for executing any or all of your plans, you will find most plans going to pieces in the process of calculation, and in sheer desperation you have to put your head into the sand ostrichlike and refuse to see what is before you.

Elementary education is perhaps not very relevant to our function today. But it is not altogether unconnected. What Samskriti or culture can we hope to conserve if our children are not brought up wisely and well? In spite of all the processes of unsettlement reform and reorganisation of society in India through Acts of Parliament and Welfare movements and associations, the threads of essential labour on which the nation's life hangs have been fortunately kept unbroken by family tradition. Most children still assist in the work of their fathers and mothers and they learn the family trade without school or institute and learn it well.

Farmer, carpenter, cobbler, sweeper, smith, weaver, shop-keeper, cart-driver, all these millions of humble folk, unconscious of the ambitions and the ideologies of bigger people, carry on as if nothing were happening and so we live on. We may build our castles in the air with impunity because the real house we live in down below has been maintained by the humble and the unlettered, unmindful of our endeavours at higher level. The food is grown, the cloth is woven, the sheep are shorn, the cows are grazed, the shoes are stitched, the scavenging is done, the cart-wheels and the ploughs are built and repaired, because thank God, the respective castes are still there and the homes are homes as well as trade schools and the parents are parents as well as masters to whom the unaspiring children are automatically apprenticed.

Under these conditions which no one but a mad man would disturb, what is the plan we ought to follow in the elementary schools we have established and are adding to? Shall we force all children, that is, those we can lay hands on, away from family apprenticeship to the trades of their parents, and compel them to spend all their time in the schools we set up such as they are—and we know just how efficient they will be with our best efforts—and make it impossible for them to learn the trades of their parents, for they cannot later in life learn these satisfactorily, nor can we hope to teach these in the schools which we set up through the hurriedly trained teachers there installed in authority? The thought alarms me for I see too clearly the mischief that must result from such a step. But I am needlessly afraid. For I am certain that in spite of our best efforts quite a number of children will fortunately escape our tyranny and the old system of family apprenticeship and traditional occupation will continue despite our efforts. How shall we reconcile our laudable object of spreading education with the need for continuing traditional occupations and family apprenticeship? I am a moderate man, a man out for healthy appeasement of all kinds and so I venture to suggest to the crusaders of compulsory primary education whether we cannot be content with three days in the week for schooling. During those three days you may do with the children just as you like. But give the children a chance during the other four days to work with their parents. Let us see what happens. There would be thus an insurance against error. We shall so to say advance, keeping the communications in the rear intact. Those who do not have to follow the trade of their parents or who have none of that kind, whose parents plan for parasitism

or for government service or competition and gambling of various kinds may use the free four days in any way they like. The humble folk however will use these four days in the week for following the occupation of the parents and take schooling during the other three days which I think should be quite enough.

This would double the capacity of our schools and our teachers for it would mean they could take two sets of children in the week leaving one day off for rest from labour.

The financial problem would be greatly eased by this arrangement and the pressure of symbols and word-building on the tender brains of the pupils will be less. The four days off will give time to recuperate and furnish opportunity for the boys and girls to assimilate and to apply and to benefit from the schooling. Indeed I think this would improve the quality of the instruction and the assimilation all round.

I do not like the alternative of cutting up the day into two halves. The school as well as the family occupation should have the benefit of mornings as well as afternoons. The farmer boy and girl ought to go to school on three full days and get the benefit of it, and be with parents and cattle in the field or in the family workshop during four full days. We should not take away the morning or the afternoon conditions altogether from either school or family.

Thus much for primary education.

The colleges in India are full to overflowing. At the beginning of every academic year there is a great scramble for admissions, Matriculates putting forward claims and counter-claims on all possible grounds including caste and community. Judged from figures, our universities must be declared to be completely successful. Yet it must be confessed that almost everybody is certain that the universities as they are today are unsatisfactory. Professors, students, Members of our Parliament, the general public, the various Public Service Commissions, all agree that the stuff manufactured in the universities is not by any means good enough. The demands of the State are not met although in numbers there is no question of insufficiency. There is deplorable inadequacy in quality.

Democracy's claims and all-embracing pretensions notwithstanding, sound leadership is the fundamental of national achievement and it must come from the products of our universities. We cannot seek for it elsewhere. A revolutionary leader or saint may appear by a miracle now

and then in the history of a nation and reshape their affairs and their character. But the day-to-day work that is required for the steady evolution of progress depends on the continuous supply of leaders to manage men and guide the affairs of our people throughout the country and this does not belong to the world of miracles. We want, not one, but thousands of men of character placed in position in the thousands of districts throughout the country. It would be no exaggeration if we admit that the gap between the needs of the times and the quality of supply from our universities is a yawning gulf. The men and women who come out as graduates have to learn everything and personality has still to be shaped only after employment somewhere. This is most unsatisfactory when the burden and responsibility of the public services have increased beyond the wildest imagination of the previous generation of our public men. The most important equipment that a young man must get before he leaves his university is personality, not learning but character. Unfortunately the atmosphere of our colleges is far too much vitiated by intellectual and moral confusion for anything like this to be attempted. There is not that guidance available which is essential for the building up of personality in the young men and women studying in the universities. Brain power is of a very high order and a tremendous quantity of learning is put in, but the essential stuff is wanting. The explanation offered is that there is confusion, both intellectual and moral, in the world around and this is reflected in the universities. But is it enough for universities to reflect outside confusion instead of making up for it? The function of the universities must be to reform, not proportionately to represent society, but to do something to restore moral values and intellectual orderliness where there is anarchy.

The universities, I once again emphasize, must give the nation the leaders, teachers and administrators who are required in this complicated age to fulfil the duties devolving on the State and to guide society in its cultural life. Folly must be replaced by reason, passion must be put aside in favour of reflection, ideals must be installed where caprices govern, principles must prevail, not opportunism. All this cannot be hoped to be accomplished for us through some mighty sudden miracle. It is the function of universities to produce young men and women who will be able to find joy and fulfilment of spirit by guiding the people up this glorious mountain path.

Young men today are the sport of random and confused thought that finds expression in ephemeral printed matter

of whose undependability even the victims are not unaware. In the great experiment which India has in the evolution of her destiny undertaken to make in our generation, there is nothing more unfortunate than the present state of our colleges and universities. They were planned and built in a past generation and it is no fault of theirs if they do not suit our times and have not gained but rather suffered by the revolutionary technique that was evolved for the speedy attainment of freedom.

Had our philosophy and our culture which formed a great bulwark that protected India through past ages been intact, the mischief arising out of the inadequacy of our universities might have been of relative unimportance. If our Vedantic culture had been kept alive, not in scholarship alone but in the hearts of men and in their deeper understanding, no deficiency in school or college education would have mattered or resulted in serious harm. Unfortunately this ancient inheritance became in later times a rapidly diminishing asset. Little of it I fear is left now. Otherwise we would not have witnessed the vast quantity of greed and selfishness that prevail and have made the aims of our National Government so difficult of achievement. The discipline and restraint and the sense of moral values which Vedantic culture implies, have been almost completely jettisoned by the steady and unrelenting educational plans pursued during the last fifty years, which alas did not furnish us with anything in place of the old inheritance that was thrown overboard.

All learning should develop personality. Otherwise it is worthless in every sense. On the other hand if this aspect of university aims be kept in mind, every variety of study would be rich in fruit. Be it science, technical training, economics, history, law, domestic science or whatever else it might be, it would—each one of these—be an ample field for making a boy or girl a leader of men provided that, along with intellectual equipment, the development of personality were attended to.

I am not unaware of the difficulty of moral training. We cannot get the right type of personalities to live and move among the youth gathered in the universities, whose very life and deportment would without direct instruction or compulsion of discipline be an inspiration. We get teachers vastly competent in every other respect. The greatest reluctance is generally felt in introducing anything in the scheme of school or college education which may be

mistaken for denominational religious teaching. One must recognise the validity of the reasons and apprehensions that lead to this. But we may easily overdo all this. We cannot afford to exaggerate our fears and rest content doing nothing. The crisis is far too real and grave. We cannot take a simple negative attitude on account of our hesitation. I feel there is a way to achieve the object. A comprehensive scheme creating opportunities for studying and understanding various religions and philosophies, including what goes by the name of classical humanism in the Western universities, namely, the thoughts of Greece and Rome would, all taken together, furnish an atmosphere and an incentive which will enable our boys and girls to seize the truth and assimilate the culture and philosophy of our own land without exclusive direct effort organised for that purpose. The indirect approach may achieve what may not be directly undertaken. Let our boys be encouraged to interest themselves in the literature of Christianity, Judaism and Islam and the classics of Greece and Rome. Then, no one need ask them but they will recapture for themselves the Vedanta, for it is still available for recapture by anyone born in India and blessed with enlightened pride. When straying from the studies prescribed for me when I was young, I read Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and chapters in the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, and later I acquainted myself with the thoughts of Socrates, Marcus Aurelius and Brother Lawrence, the joy and reverence within me swelled towards the Upanishads, the Gita and the Mahabharata though no one incited me to it. All spiritual search is one and God blesses it wherever it is done and by whomsoever. If I am today a devout though very imperfect Hindu Vedantin, it is not less due to my contact with some of the sacred books of other people than to the contemplation of what our own great ancestors have left for us. Not by total exclusion of all religion and spiritual thought out by all-embracing acquaintance and appreciation of spiritual thought of all kinds shall we be safe and shape ourselves properly.

I have said all this believing it is somewhat relevant to this occasion. I congratulate Mr. Munshi and all his good and eminent co-workers and associates of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for their great work and splendid achievement, in which the opening of this new mansion is an additional landmark of progress. I feel much honoured in having had something to do with it, however, symbolic.

May the labours of the Vidhya Bhavan in the cause of culture find true fulfilment.

AT THE SIDDHARTH COLLEGE.

Addressing the students of the Siddharth College, Bombay, on August 9, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said —

The greetings of the first citizen of India to the governing bodies of the People's Education Society of Bombay and to the Professors and students of the Siddharth College. I call myself first citizen not in self-importance but in a spirit of humility, laying stress on *citizen* rather than on *first*. I thank you all for your welcome. As you have said these are difficult times for the world and so also for India. You say people look to me for guidance. I have often pointed the way. It lies in the path of God. Let us shed greed and mutual jealousy as unworthy of those who have the privilege of being the first generation of citizens of Free India. If we turn our eyes inwards and pray to God for help in self-cleansing, India will rise to greatness and joy, for there are now no fetters but what we forge for her in the shape of uncleanness of heart. If we as individuals are bad, the weight of our wickedness must be heavy on India's feet and hamper her march up the hill.

You have said this, Mr. Principal, in your own words and I endorse what you have said. The great and good leader who guided us through these many years of struggle and hope, was taken away from us. But two great men have been left commissioned to carry on in his place and to enable us almost to forget our loss. Their power is great on the hearts of the people, their goodness is unquestioned, their abilities have stood severe test, their influence in the counsels of the nations of the world is not less than that of the greatest leaders among them all. We are indeed fortunate in the midst of trouble. The young men and women in the colleges who are eager to take their appointed places in the shaping of things in the next decade have reason to be grateful.

Dr. Ambedkar, the founder of this College, was, as you are aware, a political enemy of those who wield authority today in Government, probably one of their most implacable opponents. But what is the miracle we now witness? Dr. Ambedkar is in the inner counsels of these very leaders, a trusted member of the Cabinet charged with the responsibility of piloting the Constitution of the land, a responsibility which he has been fulfilling with ability, dignity and all-round satisfaction. This is not a compliment I pay to one or the other party but a sign I point out

of the grace of God in shaping our affairs, a great spiritual omen of promise that all misunderstanding and distrust dissolve into thin air if we approach them with courage and faith and goodwill.

What a great name you have given to the College. That of a man who had the biggest heart in the world, who had the greatest courage, greatest humility, and greatest hope, was the purest and most enlightened among the men and women of our land, the very flower of the ancient and eternal spirit of our land. Be worthy boys and girls of that great name. Be true Buddhists every one of you. You may read a lot of books and learn a lot of things, but all unconsciously may the Lord Buddha shape your souls into angel-souls worthy of his name. May you all achieve your objects, Siddhartha in that sense also.

I am glad that alongside of a desire to render things easy for the lowly and depressed, merit is ever kept in the foreground and soft-heartedness is not allowed to blunt the edge of application and earnest endeavour and that standards are sought to be maintained in no way inferior to those prevailing in institutions serving more fortunate people. Let this vigilance be never relaxed. Otherwise we lose our main objective. You have proved in your address Mr. Principal that you are not making a mere boast but that your students have won medals and prizes during the last three years in open competition.

I have no doubt in my mind that young men and women who work part of the day and carry on their studies at the same time learn more and learn better and will prove ultimately the best of them all, beating those who appeared to concentrate more having the facilities therefor. I entirely agree with you in your demand for full facilities to students who earn while they learn.

I hope you will be enabled to move speedily into your new buildings—releasing your present temporary habitation for other suitable use. But you will always be grateful and remember these hutments with gratitude for having nursed your college in its infancy.

All good luck to you.

INDEPENDENCE DAY GREETINGS.

HIS Excellency Dr. Chia-Luen Lo (Doyen of Foreign Diplomatic Corps in India), called on the Governor-General on Independence Day (August 15, 1949) and tendered the greetings of the members of all Foreign Embassies in Delhi. His Excellency the Governor-General received Dr. Lo and after warm greetings said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

The joy of our freedom is shared by you on behalf of all the nations of the world on this Second Anniversary Day of our Independence. I thank you for this noble gesture of yours on behalf of the Diplomatic Corps in Delhi to whom and through them to all the nations of the world, I request you to convey the gratitude of my Government and of the people of India. India's fervent hope and prayer as well as firm policy is that lasting peace and fellowship may be established for all mankind and reign over the world. May that great day dawn on us all soon and meanwhile let all our efforts and thoughts be devoutly directed towards that consummation.

G.G.'s ESTATE FOOTBALL TOURNAMENT.

Giving away the prizes at the Finals of the G.G.'s Estate Football Tournament at Government House grounds on September 4, 1949, HIS Excellency the Governor-General said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

It gives me very great pleasure to see your enthusiasm. I congratulate all the teams that participated, specially the losing teams. It is very difficult to play a fair game and to smile after losing. I congratulate the losers therefore perhaps even more than the winners who of course get the congratulations of the whole crowd. It is not necessary for me to say anything about sport. I must congratulate the organisers of the Tournament for the enthusiasm that they have roused in the City of Delhi which does require a little more stirring up in the matter of sport. So far as I am concerned I would like every young man in Delhi who can spare an hour once a week to play football if he can. This ground is always available provided they do not bring with them disturbing elements. Good behaviour must be the selection for all football players and football seers also. Thank you all once again for coming and seeing the way to play good games and to see quietly and enjoy good games.

We must not encourage too much one side—I am talking to the spectators—, we should try to divide our attention and encourage a good game whether it comes from our friends or from our temporary opponents. I congratulate the organizers for being so sure of their collections that they have given me Rs. 500 for the United Council for Welfare and Relief even before counting the money that they have got. I hope that their courage has not overtaken their discretion and that they will make at least one rupee above Rs. 500.

Once again I thank you all. Come and see every game that is played here. You are all very welcome. As I told you you must encourage good game. May sport flourish in Delhi, that is the way to make Delhi a good place.

DUSEHRA AT QUEENS GARDENS.

Addressing the Dusehra gathering at Queens Gardens, Delhi, on October 1, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,—

This is the second time that I join you in celebrating the victory of our heroes Sri Ram, and Sitaji over Ravana. I hope that you will all pray to Sri Ram and follow in the footsteps of Sri Hanuman. I have nothing more to say for Sri Hanuman has told us everything.

“WAYS AND MEANS”.

Broadcasting to the nation from the Delhi Station of the All-India Radio on “Ways and Means” on October 2, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

DEAR FRIENDS,—

I propose to talk on Ways and Means, not on right means to good ends or on non-violence, but on money matters. What a subject for Vijaya Dasami day! But I shall try to avoid book language and reduce the tedium. Money, like blood or water, is good and healthy if moving. If it stagnates, it is a source of trouble.

The Government have made all rich men sad. They have not yet succeeded in pleasing the poor. Money has got into several bottlenecks. Like stagnant water breeding mosquitoes and fever, uninvested money produces high prices and corruption and bad character all-round. You have all heard of the Welfare State, the Government trying to be

father and mother to all the people instead of being just a *magistrate* and *tax-gatherer*.

There are some people here as well as in other countries who think that the conception of the Welfare State and the policies flowing therefrom have dislocated the economic structure on which national prosperity is founded and if persisted in will lead to indolence and ruin. There are others who feel that any and every other alternative must be preferred to the inequalities and grinding exploitation which capitalist economy leads to, and that the cry raised against socialist policies and their consequences is an interested and selfish cry and just an intrigue to bring about the re-establishment of the moneyed classes in power. I am not going to weary you with any exposition of the one or the other doctrine, whether it is best to maintain the economy of private enterprise and to plan to reduce its evils or whether it is better to adopt socialist policies and devise steps to overcome their attendant evils.

Now, the Welfare State may be good or bad but *welfare* is essential and there is no doubt we must work for it if we deserved the independence we have achieved.

Some things have happened which perhaps had better be set out broadly. No one will deny that the standard of life of the masses of our people was low and required to be raised. And whatever else may be necessary for this—education and all that—the income of the toilers had to be raised as a first step and a step necessary to inspire all else. This has been done. The national income has come to be redistributed more favourably to the workers and farmers. As a result of a series of measures, a great part of what used to go into the coffers of owners, employers, landlords, etc., has now been taken down to the basement and distributed in larger wages and earnings among the workers and farmers.

Our population being very large, the *per capita* gain in this process is not very big, but that cannot be helped. What was big when it was with a few, and attracted so much jealousy, when seized and distributed among the crowd is in each pair of hungry hands but a trifle. Yet it is good that wage-earners and farmers have more now than they ever had, and may God bless the new possession and lead the possessors to a better and not to a worse state. All our farmers, all our industrial workers and their wives and children are better off. They may not be grateful to the Government, they may impute their improved condition to those that did least for it, but we are not concerned with

gratitude. We are concerned with real welfare which was our object, and not gratitude. We cannot possibly think of undoing or going back on this redistribution of national income which has taken place and which has benefited the farmers and wage-earners.

Now there is a great deal more to be done by the State, and for this the State requires to be kept not only going but made strong for fresh effort. The annual expenditure for administration and preservation of law and order, for the maintenance of all the public institutions necessary for normal national life and for the security of the country against internal disorders and crimes and external dangers—all this in a large country with a numerous and not too homogeneous a population—makes a good big sum. It costs a poor nation as much as it costs a rich people to maintain an efficient army or an efficient set of hospitals or a good road and rail system. Some one must pay for all this. The rich used to pay when they were happy. Now *we*—may I use the first person plural, it comes more natural?—now *we* have to pay for it. Those who share the bulk of the national income must necessarily bear the burden of State-finance. Let this not frighten anyone. Just as we got each only a little extra though the total redistributed was much, we can get a lot together by paying a little each, for we are so many and we are interested in the maintenance of ordered government.

Again, it is not enough to carry on just as we were doing before. We have to develop our resources a great deal. We have to build new dams, new power houses, new steel works, and expand other basic industries. And for these we require what is called capital, *i e.*, we should put down money for initial expenditure which will yield income and serve to make life happier for future generations.

Now, about the ways and means for these plans of development, the annual recurring revenues of a State can never cope with such capital expenditure. One generation cannot pay taxes enough for the execution of large schemes benefiting future generations.

So also when we have to conduct military operations even though in self-defence, the expenditure shoots up terribly. No nation could possibly conduct a war out of revenues. Every country involved in war expenditure borrows and raises big loans so that the cost may be spread over a number of years. All sensible nations hesitate going to war and try by every means to avoid it. We may not call our operations a war, but military operations cost a great deal whatever name we give them. Now we have been

trying to do everything in this out of revenues and revenue balances. Some men are alarmed and depressed because we find we cannot make both ends meet spending for developments and military organization on a war footing and call it a financial crisis.

Now, there is nothing strange in our not being able to finance military campaigns and river valley projects of gigantic size from revenues and revenue balances. Capital expenditure and military expenditure to meet crises must be met from sources other than current revenue. In the old days the rich folk at the top of the economic structure acted like reservoirs. When the State required money for capital or war expenditure, the Sahukars invested their surplus money in Government loans carrying a small interest. They greedily bought up Government Bonds whenever they were issued because such investment served to earn interest for idle money and was also a measure of safety for those who were concerned in industrial and commercial business involving risks. We allowed the rich to earn big sums and the money stayed with them and they invested them in Government Bonds.

If we do not use up all the water that the clouds pour but allow it to collect and stay in reservoirs, we can draw from them when and as we require water. But now as I have explained, we have taken all the wealth down to lower levels and so to say, scattered it among the people. Hungry soil absorbs all the water that falls to the share of each clod or parched square inch. Like that, the national income which has got distributed in larger wages and earnings among the poor farmers and workers does not come back into the national pool for capital expenditure. With all its evils and patent injustice, the old order had its advantages in this respect. Money-makers are habituated to miserliness and accumulated wealth has an inherent tendency to remain unspent. At the worst, even if all the wealthy men lived in the most expensive style, as they were few in number, the total waste was not much. The result was that there was a large accumulation of savings which were invested and ploughed back as it is called into industry and development plans or invested in national loans. Money that goes into wages has, by reason of the relatively smaller quantum of the unit, a natural tendency of sticking where it goes or getting evaporated. It does not offer itself for fresh investment. This is an inevitable consequence of wider distribution.

This does not mean that wider distribution is bad and that the poor must remain poor and that the traditional

economy is the only proper economy. It only demonstrates that we must evolve a new technique for raising money for capital expenditure. We must go to the poor for the money required. In the old days underwriters and banks and big combines of wealthy people took up all the loans issued by Government and the thing was over in one day between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m., sometimes even quicker. But when national income is distributed on a broader basis, when the rich are taxed up to maximum point and they can no more save legitimately but must, to live in ease and luxury, draw on past accumulations or adopt devious ways, we cannot hope to finance capital expenditure in the old way. The poor have taken over the State and therefore the poor must co-operate to make up the money wanted for development plans. If the workers and farmers do not consider themselves as partners and co-operators in the State, all development will have to stop for no one else will or can pay for it.

Future welfare must be built up on solid foundations. We must each lend a little, and as we are so many, we can get together quite a lot of money that way. If a rich traders' business is taken over by the consumers and a Co-op. is formed, the consumers must each lend a little to replenish the stock and expand the business, and make the Co-op a flourishing concern. So, if the State must be a Welfare State and also be a prosperous and growing State, it is necessary now that the poor must make it their business to put money into the National Savings Certificates. To hold National Savings Certificates must be looked upon with pride as a kind of national decoration. It is a gallant act to put a part of your money, though you are poor, in the hands of the State. Your National Savings Certificate is therefore as good as a decoration for gallantry. The State is your own and your little sum of money is safe there for your children. The State pays a handsome interest on these Certificates, higher than what the old Government loans carried. Hundred rupees becomes hundred and fifty rupees if you leave it there till your baby grows to the age of twelve. Interest or not, must we not enable our Government to develop the country? They cannot do it unless they make bridges, build dams and reservoirs and power houses, and these require preliminary expenditure which must be met from National Savings.

Now, officers go out to buy foodgrains to enable the people living in the towns to be fed for otherwise a few men will exploit the shortage and make black money. This is called compulsory procurement in the new jargon. When

a farmer gets a hundred rupees cash for his grain—he is now paid at a handsome rate and we are all glad of it—he should not take it and pay it all into his wife's hands and tempt her and himself to waste it on entertaining lazy people or otherwise. He should immediately ask the officer to retain Rs. 20 out of Rs. 100 and give him a National Savings Certificate for that amount. Suppose a big farmer gives his rice or wheat and gets Rs. 1,000. Well, he should not hesitate but buy at once from the very officer who pays him this sum, National Savings Certificates for Rs. 300. He thus helps himself to save and also helps the State to grow strong and enable it to look after his children when they grow big.

Let us all begin to think nobly and wisely. We have a new order to build up. Let us not be poor and unwise, but as we improve our income let us improve our minds also. Let us not be exploited by clever people. Exploitation by intellectuals who wish to break up the State is as bad as exploitation by the rich. We must trust the State though we may suspect everybody else. Millions of men and women cannot live together in peace without a stable and strong State. The National Government deserves and requires your help. You should make it strong so that it may function efficiently and confidently.

There are very simple rules about how to deal with these National Certificates. You can take back your money any time if you like without waiting for the full period. On the amount so drawn you will not get any further interest. But on the balance you will continue to earn interest. If you leave a good amount growing bigger and bigger, as you add to your account out of fresh earnings, you will stand on your own legs and no one will be able to exploit you. But if you do not do this, you not only do not do that which you ought to do for your own children, but by refusing to go to the aid of your Government, you abet those whose aim is to bring about a set-back in our affairs. You will ruin the establishment of a Welfare State and have only a police State.

There are people who stoutly argue that there can be no flow of money except from the rich and therefore that in order to finance capital expenditure, the rich must be kept rich. Workers and farmers should in their own interest disprove this theory and make national development schemes their own by assisting as I have explained. The small sums that the millions contribute can make a larger total than some of the loans that were raised in former days when the rich treated them as their own affair.

Farmers and wage-earners! The Sahukars have gone under. Rise to the occasion realising your new status. You are the new clientele of the Reserve Bank of Free India. I have talked about money matters. Money is the token of co-operation if it flows freely in good channels. Money freely flowing will bring about our triumph over the difficulties we face in our march to welfare. Ravana had secured a boon of invincibility as against all the Gods and all the big monsters of the world, but God took the shape of humble man who had been forgotten by Ravana. God came down as man and went through all the incidents of human life—jealousy, exile, misfortune, trials and griefs. Yet man triumphed over Ravana in the end. That is Vijaya Dasami that people all over our motherland celebrate today. May you all have good luck and honour. Jai Hind.

DUSEHRA AND GANDHI BIRTHDAY REUNION.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General met Government House staff at a Dusehra and Gandhi Birthday Reunion at Government House on October 2, 1949, and in reply to an address presented to him said:—

I have been deeply moved by all that you have arranged this morning. This is a day when men and women all over India, perhaps all the world, celebrate the anniversary of the birth of our guide, philosopher and ever-lasting friend and spirit. Mahatmaji's Birth anniversary has coincided with Dusehra: it has almost coincided with ID. I am very grateful to you all, and to the boys and girls who entertained us with such splendid, sweet music.

You have referred to things that happened thirty years ago. My mind goes even a little behind that. Let us not live on the past. We have to work for the future. I came here a little over a year ago and when I landed the sky was overcast and there was a pretty dangerous storm in the air. My plane landed safely in Delhi on the evening of 20th June and I was received by Lord Mountbatten and all of you with great pomp and ceremony. The next morning I took charge and was sworn-in as Governor-General. You have been most affectionate to me and I shall never forget your services. The time has come when you will shortly be having a new master and father who will be called President and not Governor-General. Whoever it may be, he will be your father and a loving father. You must all be loving

children and not just servants of a master. Your respect for the President should come out of love and not fear. It is good to fear a master and obey him but it is better to love him as a father and respect and obey him. I hope you will treat your President as a father and not as a master.

I shall ever remember your service with gratitude. When we won our freedom, like children we thought we would have a new heaven straightway. We soon learnt that to be happy takes time. It cannot all be made ready like the mango tree under the magician's wand. You will have to sow the seed, it will have to grow and it will have to sprout. There is a very beautiful story in the Ramayan which I was reading this morning. It is the story of how the great Ganga was brought down from heaven by Bhagirat. It was not done easily. For thousands of years the ashes of Bhagirat's forefathers were waiting in the underworld to be washed and purified by Ganga, and when she came many a fresh difficulty arose which had to be solved by patience, humility and wisdom which is called penance.

His Excellency then related the story of Bhagirat's penance and the descent of Ganga on to the matted locks of Siva and the disappearance of the river when Jahnu drank it up on the way, and the issue of it again humbled and further purified.

Remember the spirit of the person whose birthday we are celebrating today. Do not shed tears for his death. All the teachings of the Shastras would have been useless and vain if you believe that Gandhiji is dead and gone and we must mourn his death. The spirit cannot die. It is everlasting. Even water cannot be destroyed. Nothing can be destroyed. So also Gandhiji's spirit has not been destroyed. We can all pick it up again. Let it be distributed among us all, purify all our minds and give us courage and strength. We can gather a harvest even from the disappearance of Mahatmaji. Keep your affection, respect and love everlasting for my successors. Democracy is not just a heap of bricks. It is a house made of bricks and the bricks stand together in shape and strength with the help of the cement and lime of discipline, obedience and order. May you all keep the bricks together. If occasionally we wish to repair a house we do not pull it down. We take the pictures, the curtains and other things down gently and put them back again after the repair is done. So must we repair the house of Swaraj periodically even annually, but gently. Thank you once again. All good luck to you.

INDIAN TERRITORIAL ARMY.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the Indian Territorial Army at the Red Fort, Delhi, on October 9, 1949 —

The old Territorial Force was disbanded and a Territorial Army Act was passed by our Legislature in September 1948. Some detailed work had to be done before the actual raising of the Territorial Army could be commenced. This work has now been completed and it is now proposed to start recruitment to form units of the Territorial Army.

It is not possible or desirable to raise a large Territorial Army straightway. It has been decided gradually to build up an adequate reserve force which can be called up in an emergency and which can be ready without much loss of time.

The new Territorial Army will be a balanced force. It will consist of units of all types—Infantry, Armoured Corps, Artillery, Signals, Supply and Transport, Medical, etc., which would enable the units to function without depending on extraneous assistance in the event of an emergency. There will be no communal or creedal restrictions in regard to enrolment. All able-bodied citizens can join. Enlistment in the Territorial Army will not generally interfere with one's normal avocation except when called up for action in an emergency. People from all walks of life may therefore join it and go through training.

Urban units will be mostly technical units and will receive training every week with a short time in camp. Provincial units recruited from rural areas will constitute the bulk of this force and will have their training in camp for about two months every year.

Recruitment to the Territorial Army will naturally be on a zonal basis, that is to say, citizens will be recruited to units raised in the zone in which they are resident. India has been divided into eight zones.

We cannot afford to pay taxes to maintain as large a standing army as we really require. The way for the nation to reduce the burden of taxation for defence purposes is to enlist and accept the apparent sacrifices involved in enlistment in the Zonal Territorial Force. It is not really sacrifice. In the result it will be found to be a gain to the individual who enlists.

Lazy men, men who abhor or look down upon manual labour or who cannot fraternize with all classes of people,

have no place in the Territorial Army. The Kshatriya caste we abolished in India by common consent long ago. But the disappearance of the caste as such does not mean that we have no need for soldiers. Every one must be a Kshatriya now in spirit, willing and trained and equipped to serve as a soldier when an emergency arises.

Every State makes provision for attending to the wants of its sick and disabled people. This is right. But it is most important that we make the best use of the smart and able-bodied men ready at hand whom God and our healthy forefathers have provided for us. I hope recruitment to the Territorial Army will proceed successfully. Men who are qualified to be officers would show a spirit of true patriotism if they offer to serve in "other ranks" and leave it to the State to take them up later for higher responsibility. The psychological effect of enlistment on a common level along with less educated citizens will be very great and serve to spread a most healthy spirit of patriotism and sacrifice. It will be the constant endeavour of the Commander-in-Chief and all the officers of the Indian Army to make the Citizen Soldiers in every way nearly as good as the regular and full-time soldiers.

My best wishes to the Citizen Army.

SRI GURU NANAK'S BIRTHDAY.

HIS Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Reception at Chelmsford Club, New Delhi, in connection with Sri Guru Nanak's Birthday celebrations on November 6, 1949 :—

The teachings of all saints have one object—to make man realise that he is one of a brotherhood of lives, all dependent on the mercy of one mystic power. The mutual love and confidence generated by a common form of worship make people sacrifice their individual interests in favour of the common good of the community. This is good. Very good. At the same time we have found that as men do not realise the common goal of all religions, people following different forms of worship become communal and look upon different communities with the eye of jealousy and conflict. If we read our scriptures with devotion we shall be able to see that this is wrong. Let us not behave like our buffaloes who, when taken to a clean pool of water, stir it up and bring up the slime and enjoy themselves in it. Religion should not become a war-cry. It should be a slogan for love

and compassion, and friendliness and co-operation with all living beings. Guru Nanak taught great truths. I see no difference between his teachings and those of the saints of my people in the South. These sang in Tamil while Guru Nanak taught in the language of his people. May the Anniversary of Guru Nanak be an occasion for us all to broaden our understanding and turn our minds to God, not merely bending the body but humble and loving in the spirit. Let not religion become a cause for pride, hatred, litigation or bloodshed. Let us not make poison of what was intended to be Amrit.

To all those who believe in a higher power and especially to my brothers and sisters who revere Guru Nanak my best wishes on this holy anniversary.

— TO THE PEOPLE OF ASSAM.

Replying to the Address of Welcome from the people of Assam, His Excellency the Governor-General said at Gauhati on November 26, 1949 :—

I thank you for all that you have so kindly said about me and my services. I cannot express in adequate language how grateful I am to the people of India and to my colleagues who have bravely undertaken the Government of India during this critical period, for the confidence and the affection extended to me. I am more intimately aware of the difficulties of my great colleagues in the Government of India and their anxieties and the courage and patriotism with which they face these difficulties and anxieties than most people in India are aware. I know also the depth of affection which all sections of people in India have for these leaders who bear the burden of government. We are all of us together in a very great adventure and the eyes of statesmen all over the world are upon us watching with interest and goodwill. May God give us strength and faith in one another. Without uttermost co-operation and the grace of God, we cannot overcome our difficulties. May God grant all sections of our people the vision required for this uttermost co-operation. What is required now and what will help us to march forward towards the achievement of our aspirations with greater speed than we are now showing is not a reiteration of slogans either of individualist and private enterprise or of socialist collectivism. The eternal tension between individualism

and the human urge for gregarious life is obvious to all who have given their thought to the inescapable incidents of human progress. Neither individualism nor collectivism pure and simple will solve human difficulties. We have to steer our path in between avoiding the heresy of either extremism. Civil liberties on the one hand and the responsibility on the other hand for social order and public welfare as a whole must both be adjusted to accommodate each other. You may depend upon me that those who now guide the Government of India are eminently fitted to steer the ship of State so as to secure the utmost measure of accommodation between these conflicting principles and build the secure structure of social happiness.

No achievement is worthwhile if it is to be secured through chaos or violence. India should set an example in internal reconstruction even as it has done in securing national independence, that peaceful and non-violent means give the most permanent and happiest results.

You have referred in your address to the financial problems of your Province, and particularly to the recent curtailment of the assistance promised by the Centre for your development schemes. I have no doubt you are aware that the Government of India have been forced by circumstances beyond their control to make drastic cuts in their budget both for revenue and capital expenditure. In determining the cuts to be made in the assistance to be given to Provinces the Government of India have taken into account the special position of each Province. In a time of emergency the Provinces have to shoulder their share of the general curtailment in expenditure.

As regards the allocation of income-tax Government have decided to appoint Shri Chintaman Deshmukh to enquire into the matter and settle the allocation. I am sure that in giving his award he will take into account the requirements of your Province and the representation which your Government make would receive the most careful attention.

As regards the distribution of resources between the Units of the Union and the Centre, you know that after hearing all Provincial representations the matter has recently been decided by the Constituent Assembly. In all matters you may be sure that your Governor's great influence and my own good offices will not fail you.

I am fully aware, and the Government of India are equally aware of the very important position which your

Province occupies in this frontier of India. The Government are most anxiously examining your special difficulties and problems.

My visit to your Province coincides with the conclusion of the labours of the Constituent Assembly of India. Independent India has now a noble and tidy Constitution. It is not for me to tender congratulations to those who helped to complete the enactment of this Constitution. My friend and most worthy colleague Dr. Ambedkar has in his last speech said all that I would wish to say and in almost the same words as I would choose. What a remarkable thing this that Dr. Ambedkar the most implacable of all the opponents that Gandhiji had or the Congress had, should not only have been asked to join our first national Cabinet, but should happen in the end to become the successful and patriotic helmsman of Free India's Constitution which embodies the aspirations of that Congress of which he was the most famous opponent. Let me quote his own words:—

“I came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes. I had not the remotest idea that I would be called upon to undertake more responsible functions. I was, therefore, greatly surprised when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its Chairman.

“There were in the Drafting Committee men bigger, better and more competent than myself. I am grateful to the Constituent Assembly and the Drafting Committee for reposing in me so much trust and confidence and to have chosen me as their instrument and given me this opportunity of serving the country.”

Dr. Ambedkar's leading part in steering on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Constitution of Independent India is the greatest triumph of non-violence which history may record for future generations throughout the world to read and profit from. Regarding this entrustment of responsibility to Dr. Ambedkar to the end of my days I shall proudly cherish the memory of my own initiative in the matter when I was not Governor-General, which received the most generous and most large hearted and immediate acceptance by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. I attribute it all only to the grace of God and the inspiration coming from Him. I have taken your time over these general matters relating

to our Constitution because this has coincided with your happy welcome to me today. As your Chairman has pointed out, it was long ago that I was in Assam. It was then the very beginning of non-co-operation and it is not a mere coincidence that I am again here before you today when non-co-operation has blossomed into the Free Constitution of India.

I thank you all once again for the welcome you have given me and the affectionate words with which you have greeted me. I come and go, but I leave behind my able and most admirable friend, your Governor, your guide and your philosopher.

MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF TRIBAL AREAS.

Representatives from Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Lushai Hills, Naga Hills, Abor Hills, North Cachar Hills, Sadiya, Subansiri Sub-Agency and Tirap Frontier Tract (38 in all) were received by His Excellency the Governor-General at Shillong on November 27, 1949, in several batches. Before taking leave of them finally His Excellency made the following speech to a combined gathering of the representatives :—

I am glad you have all of you gathered here coming from distant places and I had an opportunity of hearing from you about your problems. I think I have understood your mind. You want improvement without being disturbed. I think the Government of India has also the same policy. I wish to tell you however one thing. Till now the world was more or less peaceful. But now as you who live on the border know, conditions in China, Burma and Tibet are in a very difficult and dangerous state. The intelligent among you can understand what I mean. The uneducated may not understand till actually danger comes. Unless all of you are united and linked to a strong government like that of India, it is not safe. The very customs which you wish to preserve will be blown away in a storm if you are not united with the Government of India. The very lands which you wish to protect will be lost. So adjustment is necessary. The Government of India understand your mind and I shall also tell them that there should be no oppression and no sudden change. Your old customs should be respected and your local rights should be preserved. We will do it as far as possible. Meanwhile I should like you to get more and more into touch with your Governor who is my representative and who is

very sympathetic. Only let us be careful and strong. You cannot be strong without joining the Government of India. You must make up your mind about that. China threatens Tibet and Burma is so much divided that it will take a long time for them to come together whereas India is established and can defend you and your families. This is my advice to you. Government will take into full consideration your requirements and demands.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT SHILLONG.

Replying to the Civic Address presented by the Municipal Board, Shillong, on November 27, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

It has given me very great pleasure to be present among you here this evening and to express to you how pleased I am with all that I have seen and how grateful I am for the warm and affectionate welcome which you have given me. This is a beautiful place. It is easy to let beauty fade away. You have on the whole preserved the place very well. May you and your successors responsible for the town continue to be as efficient as you have been and as careful.

Nature has been bountiful to you and you have done very wisely in not presenting any of your problems, financial or otherwise, to me. You are keen students, I see, of the Constitution. You know that I can do nothing for you and that you have to depend upon the government of the Province and the Government of India as a whole if you desire any help and assistance in such matters. You are very wise in not letting me into the secrets of your troubles.

You are very conscious of your position in the frontier of India. There was a time when the western frontier of India was the greatest source of concern for those who were responsible for the peace and good Government of India. But now the eastern frontier has become a greater concern than the western frontier. You know what has happened in China. China has been taken over by a new government almost without a blow. Burma is, as you know, full of difficulties and the government has been hard put to it to maintain order and carry on. And you know as well as I do how strong Siam and other intervening countries are. Unless we are united, unless we are strong, unless we

escape follies and thoughtlessness we can easily become the prey of confusion and chaos introduced from abroad. There is a continual struggle in the human mind. We want to live together but we also want to live each for himself. If we yield to individual selfishness, we shall be destroyed. I would appeal to you to set an example to all the people of Assam and thereby to India also, that in a border which is dangerous we should be more united than communities in other places. People in the interior can afford to quarrel for a time. It is not a wise thing in the frontier to do it. You must therefore be ultra careful in maintaining unity. But unless we help the strong Government of India at the Centre and add to its power and make it stronger every day, no frontier can consider itself safe. We cannot resist the great powers of chaos that are developing around us unless we make the Government of India strong and unless we sail in the same boat and, so to say, hug one another tight. If you want to carry on peacefully, and to get from one another the best for the common good, I tell you not as Governor-General, but as a plain citizen of India that wisdom consists in strengthening the Government of India as much as we can. The Government of India is not a phrase. It consists of men whom you can identify by sight. They are responsible for carrying the whole burden of administration. You know their anxieties and their honesty of purpose; you know their fame, name and character. If in our generation they are there, it is our good fortune and it is our duty to help them as much as we can.

I do not know what led you to say in your address, Mr. Chairman, that you are grateful to the Harijans who are keeping your place clean. You cannot depend on any particular section of the people for all time to keep your town clean. Unless we all know to keep ourselves clean and to keep our town clean, one day we shall find ourselves landed in trouble. Please do not depend for essential requisites on a particular section of the people. We must give up the notion that for platform purposes and for literature we abolish castes but for essential requisites we maintain castes. That is an impossible position. I hope I am not preaching rebellion to any one, but I am preaching caution to those who are now fairly well off and who may find themselves in trouble later on. All people must be prepared to do all work. That is the teaching of religion, that is the teaching of wisdom. Either all of us will have to learn all work or we will have to revalue all work and pay accordingly.

Unpleasant labour will become more and more costly and our municipalities will have to spend crores where they have now to spend lakhs for the same services. Let us therefore hurry up. Everyone must learn how to keep that portion of the town in which he lives clean, to keep public places as clean as possible and not throw an undue burden upon the municipality.

I thank you once again for this warm and affectionate welcome.

WELSH MISSION HOSPITAL.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of a hospital to be erected at Jowai on November 28, 1949 :—

It was very kind and generous on the part of the organizers of this function to make my work so easy and to enable me to start the building at Jowai by a symbolic act here at Shillong. If all work in this world had been so easy we would not have required the good men and women of Wales to come to India and do all this mighty work. The Governor-General can lay a foundation-stone quite easily, but we require most sincere and earnest endeavour on the part of good, honest, industrious workers like Dr. Hughes, Dr. Roberts and Miss Bullock and others to raise the building and start the work, and thereafter the earnest and untiring services of doctors and nurses all the time until the good day dawns when according to the hymns sung we shall require no more doctors and nurses but shall be directly looked after by the Ruler of all.

Today I cannot refrain from being melancholy when I see such a popular hospital. The popularity of a hospital is the measure of the sickness in the countryside. If a hospital is filled with beds and patients, it means that there are ever so many more people throughout the country sick and requiring assistance. No words are adequate to express our gratitude for untiring and unostentatious services of religious bodies who are not satisfied with singing hymns or with uttering formulæ of religion, but get down to work among the people in the manner in which this church has worked in Assam. Dr. Hughes was quite right. Government is just one department of life but a very necessary department. If there is not a good government, all other departments of social service become impossible. In that

sense government is an essential organization but no more than that. In order that people may co-operate with one another peacefully and without disturbance, we want a government and you want a Governor-General or a President who will take his place shortly. I am not sorry overmuch at my not being able to go to Jowai and lay this slab there permanently to disfigure the hospital with my name. But I am glad the building will soon be ready and I promise on behalf of my successor that he will go to Jowai and open the building if Dr. Roberts and Dr. Hughes will invite him.

If I had not taken up the profession of a lawyer, later of a politician and later still of a functionary without responsibility I would have very much liked to be born a girl and become a nurse. There is no work in the world which pays itself with joy and satisfaction like nursing. It is therefore no surprise that so many girls of these parts have been induced to take up the work of nursing under the inspiration of the good women who started this work in these parts. I believe that nurses will come forward everywhere in India if people will make it possible for them to do the work. Woman is born to nurse men. The wife is just a nurse with another name: so also the mother is a nurse with another name.

It was very truly observed by Dr. Hughes that the nurse is a more important factor in a hospital than even the doctor. We must concentrate on producing as many nurses as possible. One doctor or two can look after a big hospital, but you want many nurses, nearly as many nurses as there are patients. The nurse's occupation requires the greatest amount of diplomacy. By nature woman is endowed with that talent. The brunt of hospital work falls on the nurses. The success of a hospital depends on the quality of its nurses and of course on the ability of its doctors.

Religion and medical relief are intimately connected with one another. I quite agree with Dr. Hughes when he said that medical relief given on the background of religion is different from medical relief given without religion. Consolation is essential for the patient when he is sick and in pain. I would add no cure works unless there is faith and religion behind that process. After all cure is not a chemical operation. It is intimately connected with the mind. I am not one of those who believe that faith alone can cure. We want doctors and surgical instruments and chloroform and medicines, but without faith and without religion it is very difficult to cure.

I am so pleased to see such a large crowd comprising all kinds of people gathered for this function. It must be a great encouragement to Dr. Roberts who has come back after retirement to build a new hospital. It is very unpleasant to bear the difficult task of collecting funds, but I have no doubt that people will assist this mission in its big endeavour

I thank you very much again for giving me this truly very great honour and very pleasant task. I have nothing more to say except to wish this good work God speed. I entrust the stone to His Excellency the Governor of Assam to lay it well and truly with good cement at Jowai.

PUBLIC MEETING AT CUTTACK.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at a public meeting in Cuttack on November 30, 1949 :—

I am truly overwhelmed by the affection which you have expressed, by the order and beauty which you have maintained in this gathering, and by all that I have seen since I stepped out of the plane here this morning.

His Excellency has referred to the general situation in the country and in your province briefly but very clearly. He has told you that I must tell you something out of my experience and my affection for the people of this province. As His Excellency has pointed out, we are in a very great era. I have travelled over many parts of the land and I have nowhere seen so much joy and exhilaration in the freedom that we have secured as in the faces of the little children who line the edges of the road as some leader goes out in any city or town. Somehow or other grown up people are anxiously considering difficulties, but the little children, thank God, enjoy the exhilaration of a new world without any anxiety. God's gift to children is hope and joy. Grown up men consume themselves in anxieties, which are inherent in the new situation not only in our country but in the whole world. Everything has changed in such a manner and at such a pace that anxiety is inherent in the affairs of men now. Values have entirely changed and the disturbance causes anxiety in the minds of men.

At all meetings and gatherings that leaders have addressed people anywhere, great satisfaction is expressed over the freedom that we have secured. This freedom however is only a negative acquisition. We were once subject to other people. Now we are free from that subjection.

Otherwise freedom by itself is not anything substantial. The prisoner has freedom once the chains round his feet are removed, but that freedom gives him nothing more than an opportunity to work and to live well. The same is the case whether the freedom that is secured is by a prisoner in jail or by people in India, we cannot be happy unless we work wisely co-operating with one another and produce wealth and distribute and enjoy that wealth. We have in India coal, electricity in the shape of falling water, iron which is really the real gold that helps mankind. We have all these resources, but it takes time for an enfranchised people to re-order their affairs in a huge country like ours. More than coal, iron, electricity or water even, our wealth consists in our character. Not all the material wealth of a nation will help that nation if the men and women fail to be of good character. We have lost it. We must recover it. Our ancestry is great, and our inherent character is great and sound. Disturbances in values may cause temporary lapses. It is possible by penance to recover our character. The penance of a few is sometimes enough to make a great change. If the leaders of our country scattered all over make up their minds to do the penance that is required to restore our lost wealth to us, the character which our ancestors built for us, I promise even as an engineer would promise power from a hydro-electric engine, that India will prosper and we shall be happy. We must in every endeavour, keep this before our minds. Whatever may be our activities, whatever may be the department in which we are working, this recovery of character which is there ready to be recovered, must be in our minds as a horseman keeps his seat without appearing to think of it. We have freedom as well as good, sound, great, famous, illustrious leaders. Let us help and not add to the worries which naturally belong to the responsibilities they have undertaken by impatience or thoughtlessness. See that new leaders come up slowly but surely. See that character is conserved in the young. Otherwise there would be a great void and no one can say what would happen if there be a void. Everyone therefore must be vigilant, vigilant for the whole nation. Nothing is gained by shouting words or talking extremism, nonsense of either description one side or the other. All human progress depends on the balance we maintain between opposing forces. We have to maintain balance in everything. Let us not add to the worries of our leaders by propounding half-baked policies. The Congress did not arise as a party but out of the struggle for freedom. It was not organised for election or for ruling the land but for attaining freedom from foreign control.

Historic institution as it has been, it has worked for this one end over a length of more than 50 years. Groups of men have come under the umbrella and the inspiration of that institution. The Congress Party does not consist, as other newborn parties may consist, of an agreed set of rules and of men signing to those rules. The Congress is like a forest grown out of history. It was not planted by a gardener. It has grown like nature's own forest. It has issued out of the struggle for freedom, and we must make the best of it now for a new purpose. The purpose for which it came into existence has been achieved but it is still there. Are you going to utilise it properly or are you going to cut it down and use it for timber? Surely we cannot cut this down. We must keep it going. The only way in which its life can be continued is through character and justice in our dealings among one another. As His Excellency has pointed out, the government is to be run on adult franchise. The Constitution of our country has been made after great deliberation over a period of two years with more than 300 people sitting together and discussing and thrashing it all out and we have now a noble and tidy Constitution. The President has signed it and the whole country is exhilarated with joy over it. That Constitution gives, as His Excellency the Governor pointed out, equality and opportunity to every adult in the country, to men as well as women. As I said about freedom, a constitution by itself is only an opportunity. The Constitution only means that the affairs of our country will be conducted according to the will of the people, all the adult men and women of the country. But for attaining happiness the will of the people must be guided aright and executed aright. People want to be happy, but how will you be happy is a question to be answered by wise and good leaders. The Constitution cannot give us happiness. It is like a field. You have put a hedge round it, but you must plant the seeds in order that you may get the crop on which you can live. We must raise good men and women. Not even talent is so important as character. Human affairs are simple enough. Men want clothing, food and shelter, and they want order, peace, mutual co-operation and mutual kindness. In order to produce these, you do not want extraordinary talent, but good understanding and commonsense, and kindness and consideration for one another, a sense of justice and a disgust of anything mean, of anything dishonest. The Brahmin in my part of the country feels a nausea if he be asked to eat meat however nicely cooked. Similarly we must feel a nausea against any temptation to be dishonest or to be unfair. We have to train ourselves to think properly and to talk to one another properly so that this nausea against dishonesty

and meanness may be maintained in the country as in the matter of food or cleanliness. This is necessary if we want to be happy. We want good leaders to work this Constitution. The whole endeavour must be to enable the adult enfranchised population of India to develop the talent of finding out the right men, good men, whether it be in a village, in a taluk, district or province. No country can be governed without reference to the situation and the circumstances of other countries in the world. All the world has become one now. The world has now become complicated, and all parts of the world inter-act on one another. Look at this recent thing. Because somebody in England changed the value of the shilling in terms of the American dollar, the jute mills in Calcutta are affected by it. It shows how the world is inter-connected. The art of government is not so easy as it used to be. Luckily in India there are men of whose talents the whole world, a critical world, has testified. As His Excellency the Governor said, it is a great privilege that I enjoy of being associated with such men. It is a great privilege that in my time of life I have seen the struggle we have gone through come to fruition and not only have we attained freedom but we have a body of statesmen who extort the admiration from a world which is keenly and critically watching all that they do and all that they fail to do. Right judgment will have to be exercised by the adult population of India in the times to come. If we go wrong, we shall ruin ourselves. It is a most dangerous thing to press claims to hold responsibility which is the meaning of office. I am not speaking only of Ministers but of all offices and seats in the legislature. The justification of democracy is that when most people confide in a man he is worthy of their confidence. We should find out whom men trust and respect and put them in positions and not push our favourites on democracy. It is only then that this country can derive the full benefit of the freedom that Mahatmaji has given to us.

I am not talking mere complimentary language when I say that all that I see here has filled me with joy. The order, good sense, goodwill, that prevails here cannot go for nothing. God will bless you. Your province will be happy. There is no question that wherever people are good, happiness will certainly follow as day follows night.

It is a great satisfaction to me that I am here on an occasion when I can give the blessings of an old man to a young man like your Premier. 50 years is in modern times not a very old age. 50 years is a stage in life when hard work begins. If you want your Premier to work hard, you

must keep him happy May he live another 50 years and
serve the country.

GITA JAYANTI CELEBRATIONS

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech
at the Gita Jayanti Celebrations at the Laxminarain Temple, New
Delhi, on December 4, 1949 —

Some people seek to misinterpret the Gita so as to
find justification in its teaching for crimes of violence.
They concentrate on the battle scene. Their favourite
chapter is the preliminary chapter and these people extract
from Sri Krishna's teaching the doctrine of killing without
compunction. There can be no greater error than this.

The Gita chapter in the Mahabharata begins by des-
cribing the agitation of Arjuna when he saw men arrayed
on either side for mutual slaughter; and into this scene is
fitted the exposition of Hindu Dharma. In spite of the
beauty and appropriateness of the battle background con-
ceived by the teacher who gave the Gita, we should take
the Gita as a Scripture of Hinduism complete in itself and
not as a mere episode in the Kurukshetra battle.

The texts relied upon chiefly for interpreting the Gita
as a Scripture of violence are:

Antavanta ime dehaa nityasyoktaah cariirinah

Anaacino prameyasya tasmaad yudhyasva bhaarata

II.18.

Ya enam vetti hantaaram

Yacchainam manyate hatam .

Ubhau tauna vijaaniito naayam

hanti na hanyate II. 19.

Najaayate mriyate va kadaachinnaayam

bhuutvaa bhavitaa vaa na bhuuyah

Ajo nityah cacvato 'yam puraano

na hanyate hanyamaane cariire II. 20.

These mantras mean .

These bodies have an end in which dwells the perma-
nent, indestructible and intangible Spirit. Fight therefore
without concern. It is equally ignorant to regard the Soul

as slaying or being slain. The Soul neither kills nor is killed. The Self is not born nor does the Self die Nor having once been, does the Spirit at any time cease to be The Soul is unborn, unchanging, ever-abiding and is not killed when the body is killed.

Now let us go back to a more ancient Scripture the Kathopanishad for a moment The Rishi that gave the Kathopanishad, long before the Gita, narrates what Yama said to Nachiketas.

Na jaayate mriyate vaa vipaschinnaayam
kutaschinna babhuuva kaschit

Ajo nityah caacvato 'yam puraano
na hanyate hanyamaane cariire. (2)-18.

“You are not born, nor do you die. You did not come from anything else, nor were made out of something other than yourself. You are unborn, eternal, everlasting and always existed You are not slain, though the body is slain.”

Hantaa chenmanyate hantum
hatacchenmanyate hatam

Ubhau tau na vijaaniito
naayamhanti na hanyate. (2)-19.

“If you think you slay some one, or that you will be slain by some one, you are wrong in both cases The Soul neither slays nor is slain.”

There was no question in the Kathopanishad of inducing Nachiketas to take up arms without compunction of conscience. Yet the teaching and the words in which it is embodied are exactly the same as what appears in the Bhagavad-Gita. If we cannot extract a justification for violence from the words in the Kathopanishad, how can we interpret the very same verses in a different way simply because they occur in the Gita?

The two main principles emphasised in the Bhagavad-Gita are:—

(1) Swadharma, that is the law of relativity in the determination of what one's duty is:

and (2) Detachment in the performance of the duty so determined which is the doctrine of Nishkamakarma.

All attempts to justify duty in absolute terms must fail. Dharma is not absolute, but like all other things in

the world, relative. What one should do depends on the position one occupies. Duty does not hang by itself in the air. This is what is meant by the rule of Swadharma. Swadharma is wrongly interpreted as a doctrine in support of the distinctions of the caste system. Swadharma is a recognition of the truth that duty depends on environment and context. The position one occupies, whatever may be the causes or the circumstances that brought it about, determines one's duty. Relativity affects everything in this world, and the determination of one's duty does not escape that universal rule. Duty is not the same thing for everyone and the same thing for all contexts. We cannot draw a straight line in a round and moving earth on which we operate. So also duty cannot be laid down except for each one separately and for the circumstances prevailing at the time the question arises. This does not mean that the Gita lays down an easy doctrine of expediency. Swadharma is a hard and more often than not, a difficult path involving great sacrifice and courage. The Gita lays down a doctrine of relativity for Dharma. Just as Einstein has given the doctrine of relativity to qualify physical motion with the new conception of space-time, the Gita lays down that duty depends on *desha* and *kāla* and one's function.

Then comes the purifying principle of detachment. Evil is inescapable in mundane action. But all defects are set right if we act in the spirit of selfless performance of duty rightly determined.

Besides laying down the doctrine of Swadharma and *anāsakti*, the Bhagavad-Gita teaches further that all forms of worship are equally good.

"In whatsoever way men approach Me, even so do I bless them, for whatever the paths that men may take in worship, they come unto Me." IV-11.

"Whosoever the devotee and whatsoever the form worshipped with sincere faith, I bestow on him that firm faith." VII-21.

"He, filled with that faith, worships such form. He obtains his desires, I verily decreeing them." VII-22.

There is another teaching in the Bhagavad-Gita which is of very great importance. All kinds of work for the good of society are equally noble. They amount to worship of God if done in the right spirit.

“Man reaches proper fulfilment by each being intent on his own work. Let Me tell you how the goal is attained by him who is intent on his own work ” XVIII-45

“The performance of one's own work is worship of Him from Whom have emanated all beings, and by Whom all this is pervaded, and by such worship a man attains the goal.” XVIII-46.

“Better is one's own duty, though unhonoured, than the work of another even if well performed. He who does the work indicated by his own nature incurs no sin.” XVIII-47.

“The work to which you are born, though involving defects, ought not to be abandoned. All undertakings, indeed, are clouded by defects as fire by smoke.” XVIII-48.

The Upanishads were given by the ancient Rishis. Sri Krishna gave the Upanishads once again in the form of the Gita. Holding the reins of the war-horses for Arjuna, Sri Krishna taught the way of work and worship. In our own *yuga*, Gandhiji, holding the reins of a great political struggle, also taught in his own way the way of work and worship. The Gita was reborn in our times through Gandhiji's mouth. Let us revere the teaching and not merely utter the words. True reverence to the Gita lies in daily sincere reflection over its substance and shaping mind and action accordingly.

SOCIAL WORKERS TRAINING CENTRE.

His Excellency the Governor-General presented on December 10, 1949, Diplomas to ninety-one passed students of the Social Workers Training Centre (Ministry of Rehabilitation) at a ceremony arranged in Government House, New Delhi. After presenting the Diplomas His Excellency said :—

I am very grateful to Mrs. Matthai for giving me this pleasure. The course of training gone through has been explained by Mrs. Matthai. Long-standing university and school courses are still subjected to criticism. It will take us some time to find out exactly what should be done in order to make men and women fit for doing social service. I do not know how much trouble has been gone through by these trainees in their private lives. I am glad that a hundred of these people have been picked up and we have given them a course of training and work which must put

some hope and cheer in their hearts. If for nothing else, I am glad for that I know Mrs. Matthai and her colleagues sufficiently to feel sure that good work has been done and that these persons who have received diplomas will do well.

You will agree with me that the passed student Mr. Jindal whom you have just heard speak, should not be allowed to remain a mere social worker. He should be made a Minister in Government. What is the difference between a Minister of the Government and a social worker? My sister on my left Rajkumari Amrit Kaur will assure you that there is no difference. If the young men and women who have received diplomas do their work well, they will be doing on such scale as is available to them exactly what Ministers are doing. There will be no difference between the training which a social worker should get and that which a Minister should get if Mrs. Matthai would institute a university for training Ministers.

I give my best wishes to you who have received certificates at my hands. I will live for a few more years and if you do your work well, you will give me the greatest pleasure. If those who have received certificates at my hands will be good and diligent and look after those who are put in their charge, I am sure Government will give them every commendation and I assure you I shall be most glad when I hear such a thing. Do not take your work as if it were merely a job. As was very well explained by Miss Moses, it is a vocation or a call of God. If you do your work well, you will be entitled to a place in the gratitude of Government. All of you have been getting a stipend. You will continue to get that stipend till you are actually posted to a place and get a larger allowance. You have been more fortunate than many others who have not been chosen for this training and who are not getting any stipend and who have no guarantee to be posted to any job where they could get something to live upon. You must therefore be thankful for what you have received and I am sure you will do your work in the spirit of missionaries.

The training you have got does not give you all that you require. God has given you the main thing. You have in your heart the natural social urge which all human beings must have. Out of it will grow the full blossom of your social service. A little training has been given, but you will get more training in the trials that you will go through. You will not only be doing work, but you will be learning every moment how to render that service better the next moment. If you keep your minds, ears and eyes open, you will get good training in the course of your work.

I feel most grateful to Mrs. Matthai and her noble colleagues for all that they have done. But their work has not ended. They will have to continue to organise training for more people until all our requirements are met. Unfortunately the Ministry of Rehabilitation do not have enough funds while the calls on them are very large. Mr. Khanna is doing a thankless job.

I express my gratitude to Mrs. Matthai and her colleagues and I congratulate the trainees on the fine opportunity that they have got and tender my sympathy to the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen, for gracing this occasion. One of the trainees described this as a historic occasion. Some of you might have thought it was an exaggeration, but it is historic because this is one of the very first experiments that has been made by us in this direction.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT VISAKHAPATNAM.

Replying to the Civic Address presented by the Visakhapatnam Municipal Council on December 15, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I am sorry that my little Telugu has become less now owing to long absence from the South and I have to speak to you in English even as you have very considerably read your address in English to me. Someone said the other day that mutual consideration is the essence not only of courtesy but of good politics. Your reading the address in English to me even after the dawn of the new province is an extreme act of kindness and consideration to me.

Thank you very much for the wonderful welcome which you, Mr. Chairman, and other friends here have organised. Let me assure you that the office that I hold is not so important as the kindness and friendliness of people whom I meet. I am very grateful to you for the affection that you have shown and the welcome that you have organised.

I am very glad I have His Excellency the Governor of Madras to share all the embarrassments that I have to bear on these occasions and I am very grateful to him for having taken the trouble to come all the way up here to receive me. True to the tradition of courtesy to which he is heir, he thinks that when the Head of the State comes to his province, he must receive him at the threshold of the province. Laws and regulations cannot hold men together

very much. It is old-world courtesy and old-world regulations of good conduct to one another that keep men and women together and let us hope India will have the benefit of all these courtesies for an unending length of time, now and then renewing and re-educating ourselves whenever opportunity arises for learning from one another.

Anyone who visits this place and sees the beach, the hills and the sea, and the beauty and natural cleanliness of the place will at once feel that this place should be developed. I am therefore not at all surprised when you tell me in your address that the Prime Minister of India when he paid a visit to this place was struck by its beauty and said the city should be developed. You have pointed out, Mr Chairman, that the Central Government should do something more for you than it has been doing. I shall convey it to my Government. I have no doubt that they will do all they can within the resources available to them. No place should be artificially increased in size. As trade and commerce grow, a town grows. The Local Authority should from the beginning see that the place grows in a healthy and hygienic way. We should therefore attend first to drainage, sanitation and to the lay-out of the future city. Regulation by a planned lay-out even before the town grows is one of the primary duties of guardians of modern towns. When people come to settle down here for trade, commerce and the like, the town will grow, but you should not allow haphazard building to the detriment of the health and beauty of this seaside town.

You have referred to another very interesting subject, Mr. Chairman,—controls. I expected cheers from the audience when you said controls should be removed and I was very glad to note they were not so hasty. You have pointed out in your address that there are various shortages prevailing now, including food shortage; and that the shortage has increased as a result of controls. Control by itself cannot increase shortage. Where there is shortage, there must be regulation but the dishonesty of people exploits both the shortage and the controls, with consequential increase in distress. When we remove control, the same dishonesty will be there and dishonest people will exploit the shortage in a terrible manner. Urban areas will be at the mercy of exploiters. It is a matter which affects innumerable souls all over the country, and those who are responsible for government do not feel they can take off controls and leave the shortage to be exploited. That is the reason for the hesitation. Let me assure you that those

who are framing policies from time to time to meet our difficulties are very earnest, straightforward and very experienced people, and they have not been acting rashly. The very fact that they have been changing their policy from time to time must be proof to you as to their earnestness and open-mindedness.

Thank you very much once again for giving me this very warm welcome. May the beauty of your place grow more and more by expansion in an organized and healthy manner. Your new province is a dawn of hope for you all. Ever since I took office as Prime Minister of Madras, I have been looking forward to the consummation of this hope of yours and I am very glad that the thing has been agreed to and it is now only a matter of how it is to be worked. There is no great gain in hustling things. You should leave it to the Governments concerned to consider the whole matter properly. That does not mean we should delay things. You may take it from me that I would have been most delighted and much flattered if I had the opportunity to sign off this division now so that I may claim credit for the achievement. But I am not one of those who for vanity's sake like a thing to be done in a half-baked or hasty fashion. Let things be tidied up properly and let us hope that the province will come into being soon.

AT THE BAR ASSOCIATION.

Replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the Bar Association at Visakhapatnam on December 16, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said —

The Court, I hope, is not overful with work. I hope men avoid litigation more and more these days much to the misfortune of the profession. But on the whole it is a good thing that litigation goes down.

There is a new order of things and lawyers are not finding it easy. The richer classes are being denuded of their property and when standing clients suffer, practitioners also must suffer. In every way a great change is being felt by all classes of people. It sometimes gives rise to bitterness. I hope you do not suffer from any such malady. We should not imagine that everybody can get everything.

We must find practical wisdom as well as scholastic philosophy in the scriptures that we read. I am one of those who believe that the old scriptures that we have inherited are practical books. Everything herein is not for

everybody We have to make our own selection and find wisdom. In times like the present there is great need for looking into those books and learning how to be happy and make others happy.

You have referred to the great event in your life-time, the creation of the new province. Let us not imagine that a new province is a new State. Remember that we are still one Government. A province is an administrative unit, and not a new State. I was amused the other day when I heard someone say 'What happens to the remaining talukas of Bellary when the three talukas of that district are taken over by Andhra? There is no access to Bellary', as if Bulgaria had taken over three talukas and the other talukas had been left over in Western Europe! There is no question of want of access. The railways will run, the roads will be there, motor-cars will run, you cannot erect any tariff wall. There is only one government under which we are all functioning in these matters, and so it is only an administrative division. When we get a thing after a long period of waiting, we are likely to exaggerate its importance. If you had your new province in 1937 when Mr. Viswanathan was assisting me in the work of administration, probably you would not have understood it or interpreted it in the manner in which now we may be misled into interpreting. Because of the independence of India each new province that is created does not become independent. On the contrary the greater the independence at the Centre, the greater the dependence of each unit on the Centre. With independence at the Centre and resultant greater responsibility, the necessity for co-ordination and the inter-dependence of the various units inside Free India become all the greater. The necessity is far greater in a free country to keep together. So although the Andhra Province is being formed, you may find there is nothing very new after all. Administrative problems and difficulties will continue whether you have a new province or are part of an old province.

AT PREMA SAMAJAM.

Replying to the Address of Welcome presented by Prema Samajam at Visakhapatnam on December 16, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

It is in very few district towns that a working orphanage and asylum like this is maintained by private charity with a monthly collection of nearly Rs. 2,000. Government cannot do everything and unless society helps in these matters

many poor people in distress will go without any help. Even if you keep a motor car or a horse-cart, you have to walk occasionally in order to fulfil your duties. In the same manner, although you have a free and independent Government with a large budget of revenue and expenditure, people will have to help from private resources and maintain private charities. Otherwise these bright boys and girls would be left in the streets to perish. Private charity is as necessary as public Government. Looking at it in a different way, apart from the children and the boys and girls and the incurable who benefit exercise in mercy and compassion is necessary for all. The body improves under exercise and similarly your heart, mind and soul improve by practising charity. If we live and pass our lives without doing charity, there will be no difference between us and beasts. If we want to make India great, it is not enough to have a government, it is necessary to have charitable hearts.

On behalf of the Government and the people as a whole, I express my gratitude to the helpers and workers of this Samajam. It is more difficult to give time and serve than to give money. I hope my visit will inspire more encouragement to this institution.

AT THE VISAKHAPATNAM PORT.

Addressing the Officers and men of the Naval Base at the Visakhapatnam Port on December 16, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

It has given me very great joy to receive your welcome. You have great and noble work before you. I hope we shall all work together like brothers and lift our country up towards progress. Thank you very much for giving me this affectionate welcome. Be kind to one another and obedient to your officers and glad in your hearts.

AT THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY.

Addressing the Professors and students of the Andhra University at Visakhapatnam on December 16, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I need hardly tell you that it fills me with great joy that I am able to be here among you once again after a long interval. I am glad I am before you at a time when your

long-standing desire to have a separate Province of your own is being fulfilled. Great hopes fill your hearts now and I wish you all good luck in the new enterprise. (Cheers.) Every new enterprise and fulfilled aspiration carries with it responsibilities. But this has been so often repeated that it is likely to have lost its meaning, especially when we have heard it put in a foreign language and repeated more often than usefully. But I would on this occasion ask you to realise the full meaning of the oft-repeated statement that a new honour, a new privilege, brings with it new responsibilities. I am not talking in a vague way to all the people of Andhra but I am addressing these words to you friends who are gathered here. Universities are conceived as places for research, and the acquisition of new knowledge. But on account of the history of education and politics as shaped in our country, the universities in our country have become and are necessarily institutions where hundreds of leaders that are required are trained. Your new Province demands new leaders and 'leader' does not mean a gentleman whose picture appears in the newspapers. Leaders are required in every area—village, district and town, and in the farm, in the workshop, and in all departments of life. You cannot have civilization in the present times without leadership. And where can India expect her leaders to be made except in the universities? We have no rishis now, we have no hermitages. Your rishis are your Vice-Chancellors and in your case you are lucky in having a Pro-Chancellor who is a scholar. Usually Chancellors and Pro-Chancellors are just dignitaries but you have in your University a Raja Sahib who is a scholar, who gives you money, and who is both, so to say, father and mother to the university (cheers).

I was saying that universities have taken the place of ancient rishis and their hermitages, and the intellectual, moral and spiritual leadership that is required for the new Province has to be secured through the university. They may erect their capital wherever they choose, but your university is the spiritual capital of the new province and you must therefore realise that responsibility. Under the wise guidance of Dr. Reddy you have got the best men assembled here both as teachers and as students. But unless we work hard, conscientiously and with devotion in our hearts—not merely ambition, but devotion to our objective—we will not succeed. All high enterprises require devotion. Nothing is gained by disorder, by contumely, by grouses, by heat without light, if I may say so. We will have to apply ourselves steadily. No one who has piety in

his heart will yield to the temptation of disorder, and devotion to responsibility is a form of piety, nothing else. Devotion is worship. If you are devoted to your work, it is worship of God. I would like you therefore to take it from me that the greatest call of the hour now is that the students and professors of this university, should consider themselves as before God or in a temple and work in the spirit of worship and prayer. Do not be confused by temporary difficulties either in administration or in society or in any particular line of work. I am certain we have a destiny, and we have to fulfil it through devoted application. Do not get dissipated because there is not enough money floating about. What a nation may truly consider to be its wealth is the capacity of its individuals to apply themselves with devotion to the tasks before them. All deficiencies can be made up by this devotion. Very soon the younger people in this gathering will live to see our country, and our Province, in full trim, in good working order, with fulfilled aspirations instead of frustration which people are allowing to gain ground, but for which there is no reason.

I can see your determination to undertake your new responsibilities in the order and the seriousness of this gathering. I thank the Vice-Chancellor and you all for your affectionate welcome.

THE NAVY DAY.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech on December 17, 1949, on the occasion of Navy Day Celebrations at Madras :—

I feel as much honoured by being given an opportunity to be with you today as you say you are by my presence. As I have already said the Navy is very dear to the Government of India and within their limits they will, I have no doubt, do everything that is necessary to increase your strength and importance in the Defence Services of India. I may assure you that there is no great necessity to make the Navy liked by the people. The people like the Navy thoroughly, if I may say so. There was a time when they did not like the police, but I know that these days people are quite fond of the Police. There was a time when they felt rather cold about the Army. But I can assure all Army people that the people have thoroughly realised the connection between the Army and the people, the connection between the officers of the Army and the freedom and the honour of the State:

and the people are as fond of their armies as other people are of their armies. As regards the Navy, there was never any doubt in the minds of the people as to what the Navy was for. The Navy did not arrest people or shoot down people, and therefore the Navy begins with great popularity in India and there is no doubt whatsoever about it. I am speaking to you as one who can help you to understand the mind of the people, not as one in any kind of authority.

As regards our people, they are not quite sure as to what the strength of the Navy is in India. For instance when they see the flags and ensigns of the Naval Service in New Delhi they think that the Navy is a kind of motor car which runs along the road. They do not quite understand how the Navy works in Delhi. When they are told that navies all the world over are busy on the ocean, they do not quite understand what Delhi has got to do with the navy. In modern warfare, the actual fighter has to depend so much on administration and co-ordination of every kind that it is quite important that the Naval Headquarters should be in close touch with the headquarters of the State as a whole. Men employed in the Navy have to have a certain temperament. You at once see the difference when you look at a land soldier and a sailor. The land soldier is on the whole a fierce person. The naval officer as well as naval men always blossom with a smile and they have a pleasant look. It comes from the water over which they float. It comes from the long isolation to which they are subjected and they then hunger for human company when they land on shore.

We should look upon all our Defence Services—whether they are sailors, soldiers, airmen or policemen, as our intimate friends, as our comrades in a common work. What I am appealing for is a purging of previous antipathies and prejudices from the heart and that we should look upon the men serving in these dangerous, difficult and essential services as friends, as brothers, as dear relatives in fact, because in matters of life and death they are just like relatives. We should look upon these people with affection. Children should not be afraid of the policeman. The children should look upon the policeman as a friend, as a father, uncle or guide. We should therefore cultivate a new mentality towards our Defence Services. Do not lay too much stress, as sometimes we do, on "You are the servants of the people". What does that mean? That means the people are some superiors and these are bought in the market. We are all servants of one another and in

that way the Defence Service men are the people's servants. But they are servants of the people as a whole. We should look upon the Defence Service men as our kith and kin. Our navy is a very very small navy—it is a tiny make-believe navy one may say. We have 1 flagship and 3 destroyers. The flagship is a beautiful thing. I wish we kept our houses as tidy and nice as that ship is kept. That is our Admiral's ship. We have 3 destroyers. Do not think a destroyer is something like a Ravana. It is just a boat with powerful guns in it where men sit below and operate on the guns and there are any number of machines of exquisite delicacy. Things are kept tidy and they destroy the enemy. We have 3 destroyers Ranjit, Rajputana, and Rana. Then we have 5 frigates and 6 minesweepers. They are very necessary for operations. We have besides landing vessels and other things which are not counted generally in counting the strength of a Navy. Then we have a very important service called the Survey Service and that is very necessary because coast lines and harbours are full of danger for merchant ships and other vessels that come in unless they are constantly examined, charted from time to time and kept up-to-date, and pilots are kept at all places to guide incoming and outgoing vessels. The plan of our Navy is that we should acquire new fighting vessels gradually and we go on building up because there is no advantage in making a show of our navy without the necessary personnel and equipment to run the thing. We had about 564 officers when we started with this plan and 5,000 men in the Navy. Today we have 800 officers and 7,700 men: and these every year will have to be replenished. Remember an officer is not simply got by advertisement. Everyone has to be trained. In India we had no trained officers before. They were all outsiders. It is true that our people, once they take to service, become after training quite as good officers in the Defence Services as in any other country. I have no doubt if we offered our naval officers to the British Navy, for instance, they would gladly take them in exchange. But we cannot do that. We must have a link between the nation and officers of its Defence Services. It is therefore that we have to train our men, which is a very difficult and important task. This navy of ours is for defence. You might think there is no need for defence. The Himalayas are there and the water is there. But Madras need not be told the dangers of having a sea-coast. During the last war I remember very well how panicky all people got here when they heard that warships were going to come. Some kind of defence is necessary. Some of the wise people might believe it that we can never build a navy strong enough in

India to defend the country. But no one country can defend itself without depending upon others, but every country will have to contribute its share. Unless we do that, we will not be looked upon as worthy of any assistance. It is a matter of world-wide co-operation and we must ever be ready and fit for that co-operation and that is the reason why we have to maintain, pay for and look after a navy—may be small, but well-balanced navy. There is a thing like balance in defence equipment. Some day or other our people must resume trade and commerce with foreign countries as in ancient times when our ships went out. Once upon a time we were a sailing people, especially people in the South and we have to get back to that position. If we have trading vessels going all over, we must also have a navy. Just as a city or town must have police officers, if we went over the ocean, we must have police officers on the ocean. That is exactly what the navy is.

Thank you very much for giving me this privilege. It is a privilege to me that I happen to be here on Navy Day and I have been asked by you to be your guest. Admiral Parry will have to be replaced some time or other by an Indian Admiral. So, officers of the Navy, get ready quickly. It is no use always depending upon senior officers from a distant place. We want therefore all the people to put their hearts in their work and make the best of their young men. All young men are not fit for the Navy. Only one who is brave, cheerful and healthy can get into the Navy. And as for risk, there is risk everywhere. Everybody must be prepared to die. It is good to die as a soldier, sailor or policeman. There is all the world of honour before you if you join the Navy.

I have talked to you as friends and not as a Governor-General because while when I go to other places I maintain my dignity and aloofness, when I come to Madras I feel and talk like one of you.

NON-RICE DEMONSTRATION CENTRE.

Declaring open the Non-Rice Demonstration Centre organised by the Provincial Consumers' Association at Madras on December 17, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I thank you for all the very kind things which you have said about me personally in your address of welcome.

The occasion is a very simple one. I was asked to open a millet food demonstration and I readily agreed

thinking it was a good thing to do. But I did not realise that the placing of the function at the top of my engagements in Madras would make it a gathering to welcome my arrival here. I see however that that has been the case. More people here are interested in seeing my face than in non-rice demonstration (Laughter.) Madras is so fond of non-something or other that the word 'non-rice' seems to have caught the fancy of the people here instead of some positive description of the thing which we are going to do. I am yet to learn what it is. I am to open and what it is I am to see (laughter). I thought that a few friends would sit down with me and have a meal of something or other in which rice would not find a place but yet which would be edible and even pleasant. But I am told no kind of eating is to be allowed here and that it is only a show! I must confess I am somewhat mystified as to what it is going to be and I am as eager as you all are to see what the demonstration is.

Referring to the wish expressed by Mr Justice Basheer Ahmed Sayeed in his welcome address about His Excellency becoming the first President of the Indian Republic, the Governor-General remarked: You celebrated my birthday, my dear friends, last year when I did not want you to celebrate it. This year I would have liked you to celebrate it so that people may know how old I am. You did not do it and people do not realise that I have completed 70 this week. Having done 70 this week, do you think I should still pull the bullock cart along the Madras road or the Delhi road or any other road? I am fairly entitled to rest and peace, and even my well-wishers should not aspire on my behalf to any further duties which are full of worry and not at all a pleasure. Thank you very much, however, Mr. President, for your affection. Let not the appeal that people should take millets as part of their food be looked upon as merely advice given because of deficiency of supply. It is advice given because of deficiency of nutrition in South India. It will also help us in supplying rice to our growing population if the better-off classes set an example in eating food which has been hitherto considered staple food for only the poorest classes. In jails, to which reference was made by my friend in the welcome address, the clamour was always in favour of rice diet instead of millet diet, but those who took to the millet diet and lived a regulated life, were better off in health, in vigour and even in mental outlook. There is no reason therefore why we should not retrace our steps and the better-off classes should not set an example to others.

I am extremely pleased with the talent that has been demonstrated inside. They have done excellent foodstuff with millets, specially ragi, which I have greatly appreciated. I generally do not give certificates too easily. This certificate that I give is true on every point. It is very good, and if all the modern educated girl students of ours would be able to cook as well as these girls have done here, I do not object to any kind of education.

AT THE GUILD OF SERVICE.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Annual Celebration of the Guild of Service at Rajaji Hall, Madras, on December 18, 1949 :—

I am very glad to see this hall so full and so properly used. I have come here very often when the proceedings were solemn and serious, and important also. But there is a peculiar atmosphere filling the hall today which makes me more happy. Her Highness has been guiding you and inspiring you not only by her personality but by force of the tradition of service and courtesy and chivalry to which she is heir by right of birth. All of us inherit by right of birth some qualities which are generally attributed to our own exertion. Most often if you examine the matter you will find that much of the virtue which people exhibit is traceable to their inheritance. I am very glad as a citizen of Madras that we have Their Highnesses to guide the government and the voluntary social services of this Province on the background of an unbroken high tradition (applause). There is no contradiction between good manners and democracy. There is no contradiction between an affectionate demeanour and equalitarian democracy. We should learn in India to synthesize our inherited culture with our modern political adventure. I am particularly happy that His Highness agreed to take over the thankless duties of Governor of a Province in these democratic days. I am sure that the Guild of Service, will, as wished for by Lady Nye in her message, enlarge its scope and go on increasing its efficiency from day to day. Lady Nye is now a constant friend, philosopher and guide to all those who are trying to do social service in New Delhi. I am glad that though she has left Madras, her work is going on here and it is in very good hands. Mrs. Clubwala is always there. Your most valuable recent acquisition, my old friend Mr. V. Bhashyam Iyengar, is as good a woman as

any other who is undertaking social service. The gentleness of approach is the vital difference between woman's work and man's endeavour. That gentleness of approach you will find in Mr. Bhashyam Iyengar. I hope you will revere Mr Bhashyam Iyengar as a social service worker of first-class experience, integrity and activity. He is younger than most of us, with an active mind and willingness to work hard. May he live long and guide the activities of the Guild of Service with vigour and freshness of spirit. In the olden days social service rendered by friends of Government was considered as a stepping stone to the acquisition of titles or favours from Government. That is not the case now. Since we have ourselves become government, Government House is a temple of democracy, and you should consider as your own comrades persons getting assignments in social service from the Governor or his wife, whoever it may be. It is a privilege carrying with it no longer, if I may say so, a bar-sinister as in the old days

As I said the other day, activities of social service workers are a necessary compliment to the endeavours of Government to do things in a wider field. You all know the phrase 'welfare State'. All good states have now become welfare states in the general sense and the government is a social welfare worker but on a very large and bureaucratic scale. Governments cannot have the gentleness of approach which a voluntary social service can bring to bear on the work. A child cannot grow well unless there is a father as well as a mother. In the same manner a State cannot be looked after well unless there is a government and a body of social service workers who have the approach of a mother in the work that they do. That is the reason for having organisations of this kind and I am very glad therefore that in my native Province a well-organised Guild of Service has been made available for the people and is looked after well and is enjoying increasing popularity. I am very glad to note that there are 500 odd members. It is one thing to gather on Annual Day, especially when tea and eats are provided: it is quite another to have a continual unbroken body of members. I do not say all the members are hard-working social service workers, but everyone of them wants to be associated with social service and to help in social service. They are keen that their organisation should do well. So it is an asset just like paper money. You cannot make much use of big notes when you go to a village shop but it is useful to have currency notes. I want the membership to grow still further. It should be thousands for a Province of our size.

I wish all prosperity and growing strength to the Guild of Social Service. In the old days Government made use of the social service organization. Today the social service organization is making use of the government. I find many Ministers have been "affiliated" to the Guild of Social Service. We men know how much we are governed by our wives. Government now is an obedient servant to the Social Service Organization because all their wives have got into this Guild.

I want all the ladies who have given their names and their allegiance to this service to put their heart into it and work more and more. It is very easy to attain a position of strength and importance. You have to maintain it. It is good women get openings which previously had been closed, but that should not be followed by losing those lines of occupation which had been their privilege for long generations. Social service of a real and active kind has been woman's monopoly for generations. Let that not be lost because you get some other openings. I am President of the United Council of Social Welfare in New Delhi—a long name but the organization is doing good work. I have seen how hard women social workers work. Because a lady is well-dressed, clean and tidy, do not think she does not work. On the contrary I know from experience that even well-dressed ladies work remarkably hard. I thank you, sisters, for the work you have been doing. You are in a free country now and you have to work for its honour and welfare.

AT THE SPECIAL CONVOCATION OF THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY.

Accepting the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on His Excellency at a Special Convocation of the Mysore University on December 19, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—
'YOUR HIGHNESS, DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS AND SENATORS,—

It was kind of the Chancellor and the authorities of the University to think of me as worthy of this recognition and to call a special convocation for the purpose. I am most grateful for the high honour that has been bestowed on me. I was a student of one of your constituent colleges although that was before the university was established. I spent my high school and college years, all in Bangalore. I was a free scholar throughout the six years that I was in the Central College. The grounds and the lecture halls and the tiffin rooms of the Central College are almost as dear to me as

the stream and the groves of the village where I was born and grew up as a child. This makes the honour now conferred on me doubly precious. It was shortly after I passed out from the Central College that the University of Mysore was constituted. The University however is just an external vesture. I feel my old college has conferred on me this new honour and re-emphasized and enhanced my obligations to my Alma Mater.

Your eminent Pro-Chancellor has dealt in a brilliant and incisive manner with many important problems in his recent address at the Andhra University Convocation. I endorse everything that he said and invite the attention of all young men to the valuable advice given by him. The concern of universities has been defined by an eminent authority to be the discovery and passing on of knowledge. The functions of institutions like the duties of individuals vary with the time and the place and the sum-total of the context in which the institutions function. Relativity affects duties and functions even as it affects everything in the physical world. It is attractive to treat universities in India as concerned with scientific and philosophic research like sister universities in advanced western countries. But universities have grown to be something definite in India and it is not wise or economical, even if it were practicable, to try to alter their settled character. Research is done to some extent and should be undertaken in greater measure. But without detriment to this essentially intensive work undertaken by a few, the main body of students in our colleges are a charge on the university for a more general purpose. The function of universities in India today is more than anything else to set the standard of behaviour for the cultured among us and to equip young men and women with the intellectual and moral equipment needed for active leadership in all walks of life and throughout the country. I am not addressing the young men of the University at this convocation, but I take this opportunity to express my affectionate interest in them and appeal to them to shape their activities in such a way as to help to increase in the coming times the material and moral wealth of India. The adventure of constructive work in a free country aspiring to do well should be no less attractive to youth than the call of independence was during the national struggle. Every department of life in free India requires sacrifice and a spirit of service. There is great work before our young men and women to which the new status of our country calls them in every station or rank in life. We have already seen disappointments and defects enough to make us realise that there is greater need for courage and

sacrifice in constructive work than even what was demanded in the struggle for independence. Let us not be depressed or down-hearted on account of these disappointments but with confidence in our moral and intellectual inheritance, work and make the needed sacrifices for the good of those that will come after us. India has raised great expectations among the statesmen of the world. Gandhiji's glorious life and leadership contributed to this expectation of greatness from India. India can achieve nothing but what its parts contribute. So Mysore cannot wait to receive, but must hasten to give. And Mysore cannot give unless the young men and women of the universities make up their minds. I am shortly laying down my office. If in my retirement I learn that the people of Mysore are led by good and able men and that the University of Mysore is turning out a queue of such good and able men awaiting their turn to serve so that the work may be taken up as the older men retire, nothing would give me greater pleasure. But I must in this context re-emphasize once more what I have often pressed before on the attention of educationists and parents. It is a mistake to think that the human mechanism of thinking receives adequate educational help through studies only. Manual work is of the greatest importance in any scheme of education. In the years of childhood, it is the reaction to the external physical world that enables the child's talents to be evolved and to grow, and this is secured more by work and play than by disproportionate concentration on the acquisition of the capacity to deal with written symbols. In the later years of education also, actual contact with the external world, be it in the workshop or in the laboratory or in the playing-field, is of the greatest importance as a necessary supplement to knowledge through words written or spoken, lectures and books. Much of courageous readjustment and discarding of traditional notions is necessary to put into practice what I have stated. If I ask boys and girls to work either in the home or elsewhere while attending school, it is not because I want to save national funds, though that itself is not bad, but it is much more because I feel that a substantial part of education is missed in the present methods. Work would cure that defect. Incidentally, manual work has lost much of its proper appraisal by reason of its total elimination from the educational schemes of the middle and upper classes. The restoration to manual work of its proper dignity is a national necessity. The equipment for leadership in our country in our present state of affairs, in the highest as well as in the lower ranks, will be most usefully completed if a programme of work is made part of high school

and university education. If the educational authorities cannot move quickly enough in this matter, I appeal to the young men and women voluntarily to devote a part of their time, when at school or college, to useful work with hands and feet, and this not to help anybody else, but to complete one's own education.

Your Highness, you have moved me beyond words by the most affectionate terms in which you have called me to accept the Degree that your University was pleased to confer upon me. You have said so many good things about me and, God knows, I do not possess those qualities you have referred to in your introduction, but God has helped me to keep them as my object and desire to achieve them. I feel thankful to God for it.

Your Highness and distinguished friends, I express my grateful appreciation of all the kindness I have received at your hands.

INDUSTRIAL AND ART EXHIBITIONS IN HYDERABAD.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the opening of the All-India Industrial Exhibition and the All-India Art Exhibition in Hyderabad on December 20, 1949 :—

It is a great privilege to be associated with such beautiful and useful functions. The admirable survey of the situation in all departments as affecting the country as a whole which you have heard from Mr. Gupta was very inspiring and I need add nothing more to what he has said. Hyderabad, he has told us, has begun a new life, in that the people will begin to govern themselves. What has happened in India has happened in Hyderabad also. India which had hitherto been governed by the wisdom of other people, has now started on the responsible career of depending on the wisdom of her own people. Similarly Hyderabad, which had been depending on the wisdom of the Ruler and his Ministers, is on the way to depend for good government on the wisdom and character of the representatives of the people. I wish godspeed to this adventure of the people. The natural desire of men to govern themselves has been fulfilled. But the fulfilment of the desire means the beginning of a serious responsibility. Do not think I am merely uttering trite old sentiments and formulæ when I tell you as a practical man that a democratically governed state, big or small, will have a government only in the measure

of the wisdom and the character of the people and their leaders. If the sixteen millions of people who make up Hyderabad decide to be wise and good people in spite of temptations that may come in the way, then the State will be governed well. In the old days, rightly or wrongly, we could blame other people for our misfortunes or failures. Hereafter we shall only have to blame ourselves if anything goes wrong. It is possible that regimented rule by a good and benevolent autocrat can maintain a good government in spite of the bad character of the people, but when the government becomes democratic, there is no device on earth which can make a people happy if they are not good people. Knowledge can be obtained by reading books or by listening to people of experience. Philosophy can be learnt by studying the classics of our land. But good government cannot be obtained except by the good character of the voters (applause). Democratic government means government by the voters. If the power-house stops working for a minute, you feel the darkness in your own house that minute. If the voters go wrong, the representatives cannot make a good government and the nation, province or state cannot be governed well. When the power-house is out of order, we can quarrel with one another in the dark, but the darkness will disappear and light will come back only when the power-house is restored to working order. In the same manner, the press and platform may be full of mutual acrimony but good rule and happiness will not come unless men and women, young and old alike, decide to behave justly and properly, and not do things from corrupt motives. If Hyderabad has attained freedom, it has created for itself new and great responsibility. By freedom is meant the right to vote and to choose and appoint our own Ministers and Legislators. The presence of a Constitutional Head does not interfere with the widest form of democracy. England has, in my opinion and in the opinion of a large number of world statesmen, the best form of democracy and it has a Constitutional Head in whose family if a child is born, the nation goes mad over it and wants pictures of that baby to appear in all illustrated papers. That does not interfere with democracy. The only thing that interferes with democracy is corruption among the voters, bad character among the people, not the presence of a temple or a mosque or the presence of a constitutional ruler at the head of the State. No mischief can come to a democratically-governed people from above. It always comes from below. I have said so much on this subject because on an occasion like this and in the context of the changes that are taking place and are to take place very

soon, the President of the Exhibition Committee has read to you his views on public affairs more or less in general and I should not pass without appreciating what he has said.

I have great pleasure in welcoming the determination of the people of this State to improve in all directions. I am glad to tell you that for a long time past I have been a silent admirer of the art and craftsmanship of the people of this State. They have been doing without a break excellent work quietly and extorting the admiration of those who come and see their work. I want you fully to appreciate the skill and the nobility involved in producing the beautiful things that are produced in their cottages by humble folk, who do not know to read or write. These beautiful fingers are our wealth, not the skill with which we string words together in our own language or in other people's language. It is essential that we should nurse these arts and not allow them to die out by giving preference to cheap productions from other countries. We should encourage our own arts and crafts. This has been said by more eminent persons than myself and times without number, but in the context of democracy these old adages acquire a new meaning and that is why I have said them again.

I thank you all for the honour and privilege you have conferred on me. You have presented this beautiful casket to me with your address. I feel humble when I see the beautiful art all round this casket. I can only deserve it, I believe, by fully reciprocating the affection which has been shown to me.

I have great pleasure in declaring the exhibition open.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT HYDERABAD.

Replying to the Civic Address presented by the Hyderabad and Secunderabad Municipalities on December 21, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

The presence of Miss Padmaja Naidu at the gathering reminds me of an incident. Thirty-five years ago the late Mrs Sarojini Naidu presided at a conference held in Kanchipuram in the South. There was a keen dispute and a certain amount of noise and want of decorum. Mrs. Naidu then rebuked the audience saying 'I come from a city where I was brought up to expect culture, orderliness, grace and good manners'. The city she took pride in was Hyderabad. Hyderabad can rightly claim her as her guardian angel. She spread the name and fame of your two cities all over India

and in her own person showed to people what courtesy, kindness and good manners were. Hyderabad and Secunderabad should strive to maintain that great name and fame.

Let not momentary passions disturb permanent things. The culture of a city is permanent. It should not be broken up for temporary causes. On this occasion therefore I plead for the conservation of all that is good in the structure that has grown as a result of centuries of progress and civilization in these two cities. Cities and towns set an example to rural areas in cleanliness, orderliness, good manners, education and architecture. City Fathers have a definite duty in this regard.

I admire the wisdom and foresight shown by those who in olden days selected such a beautiful site for Hyderabad amidst the hills and the waters which gave the place a salubrious climate. Hyderabad citizens should be proud of the possession they have inherited. In Hyderabad there was no difficulty in providing a beautiful building for a hospital because the pressure of ancient culture was such that the architecture of even public buildings could not escape beauty. A house as beautiful as a mosque housed a Unani hospital here. What is that most beautiful building, I asked and I was told it was the High Court. I find it is possible to administer law in a beautifully designed building which pleases the eye and gives joy without taking away anything from anybody.

Be proud of your city which is a source of inspiration and a centre which diffuses culture, civilization, orderliness and tidiness to the whole of Hyderabad.

STATE BANQUET AT HYDERABAD.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech at the Banquet given by His Exalted Highness the Nizam on December 21, 1949 :—

YOUR EXALTED HIGHNESS, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS,—

I express my sincere gratitude for the great and generous hospitality and all the kindness that I have enjoyed at the hands of His Exalted Highness and his Ministers and officers. As for the demonstrations of welcome and affection with which the citizens of Hyderabad and Secunderabad have overwhelmed me, I can only say I am unable to find

words to express my feelings. It is the greatest joy to experience spontaneous affection from men and women. I have done nothing for them. Their affection is therefore entirely in the nature of a free-will gift

I am glad that with the concurrence of His Exalted Highness, Hyderabad is becoming a full-fledged unit of the Indian Republic. From what I have seen I have no doubt the people of the State will endorse this wise decision. I am convinced by my conversations with His Exalted Highness of which he was gracious enough to give me the privilege, that this decision to become an integral part of the Indian Republic is the conclusion of his ripe and well-considered independent judgment. With due respect I might take the liberty of giving expression to the impression His Exalted Highness has made on me. The Hyderabad State has a shrewd, cheerful, optimistic and wise person as constitutional head, as wise and shrewd as any of the constitutional heads of the provinces of India. He is detached in his outlook. Any impression that he is doing anything for his own personal advantage is a complete mistake. His only concern is that the State that had preserved its integrated individuality and held together during three centuries, should continue to be a undisintegrated unit and have an honoured place in the new Republic and that the people should be happy. This is a legitimate desire in one who represents the dynasty which founded the State during times of great difficulty and storm.

When the foreign Power that came from Europe was consolidating itself in India by every means available to it, and by the will of that invisible Power whose ways are inscrutable, His Exalted Highness's dynasty occupied a key position both territorially and politically in the continent of India. This key position had its difficulties, but at the same time it enabled the Rulers of this State to command the attention and friendliness of the British Power. It helped to build up a relatively independent position for Hyderabad among the numerous States in India. Hyderabad thus grew in comparative autonomy and developed its own arts and crafts and culture and social life. The organic synthesis that shapes itself in a State with a heterogenous population is a precious development in national progress and should be looked upon as such by everyone who aspires for great things on behalf of India. Without the talent for synthesis men and women cannot be happy. Synthesis is what we should encourage in all matters. Isolationism and disintegration are things to be avoided.

Now when the foreign Power has been eliminated and India is in possession of her own soul, it is not a legitimate ambition or a wise policy to strive for isolation whatever might have been the case when the foreign Power held the Centre in a firm grip. His Exalted Highness has realised this and has come to the conclusion that Hyderabad should be a part of the free Indian Republic and contribute to its greatness in the coming times as one of the important units thereof. The true and proper fulfilment of the aspirations of any territorial unit in India lies entwined with India as a whole. When the foreign Power dominated over the whole, it was good for any area to maintain its independence, at least within its boundaries, but now that Bharat has realised independence, the ambition of units should no longer be what it was before but to serve the whole in fullest co-ordination. We should now develop the larger pride of unity and contribute to orderly progress as a whole. Political unity and co-ordination with other units, at the same time preserving a zeal for local initiative and for hard work for the welfare of the people of the unit according to the requirements of each locality should be the policy of all public workers and patriots wherever they may be. I believe firmly that India has a great future, whatever may be the tribulations we may have to pass through for the time being like all other countries. What is happening in parts of Asia and the difficulties which our neighbouring Asiatic territories are facing, should all teach us and lead us to conserve and to guard orderliness and peace. Haste certainly makes waste. Whether the State will be governed well or ill will depend not on the Constitutional Ruler but depend entirely on the Ministers who come up to political influence through the choice and support of the people. Clannishness and intrigue will postpone the fulfilment of the aims of democracy. My Government are I believe wise in going somewhat slow and seeking to put all the Services in good order before putting democracy in full charge. I am very glad leaders and people in general appreciate the wisdom of this policy and are not impatient. Those who have been now appointed Ministers know exactly why they are there for a temporary and preparatory purpose.

I wish His Exalted Highness all happiness and health. You have unparalleled opportunities, Sir, for national service and I assure Your Exalted Highness that the leaders of India who hold responsibility for the governance of India and who have by their character and ability extorted the appreciation of statesmen throughout the world, look to you for unqualified friendliness and are eager to offer it to you

on their own part. I have no doubt you will not lag behind anyone else in contributing your share towards the progress of the people as a whole and bring new lustre to the dynasty of which you are the present representative. I wish you health and happiness.

AT THE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY.

Addressing the students of the Osmania University at Hyderabad on December 22, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

MR CHANCELLOR, VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS, AND LAST BUT NOT LEAST MY YOUNG FRIENDS GATHERED HERE,—

It gives me very great pleasure once again to be in these premises. I had the honour of visiting this place and receiving an Honorary Degree when I was not holding any office (laughter) I have received quite a number of gestures from various universities recently who have been pleased to recognise in me merit to warrant the conferment of honorary Doctorates. But it was in Osmania that I was recognised as fit to receive that degree when I had not accepted the responsibility of a Governor-General (applause). You can understand my vanity (laughter) if I feel that that degree is more precious than the degrees that I have received elsewhere. No man is free from vanity, not even I! I cannot however say to you truthfully that I do not value the Doctorate of Law given by my own University of Madras, nor can I say that I do not value highly the Doctorate of Law given by the University which has assimilated the old college where I studied—the Mysore University. Whatever may be my own merits, of which I may assure you I am not too confident, I cherish the degree that this university conferred on me greatly and I am very sorry I was absent-minded enough not to bring the academic robes today. I could have worn it and confused the photographers, and I am really sorry I forgot about it. You will all, young friends, one day wear the robes of this university if you meanwhile study well, behave well and manage not to get rusticated for excitement. This university, like all others, gathers together young growing men and women. Naturally the life-urge is very strong in that age. What

appears to grown-up people as important appears to growing boys as unimportant. What appears to grown-up people as unimportant impresses young people as very important. A growing thing is different from a grown-up thing. In youth you grow and you cannot grow unless you are vigorous, expressive and more or less thoughtless also! If you think too much, you cannot grow. It is only if you are thoughtless that the cells of the body receive their natural impressions and develop. That is the biological explanation of a certain amount of uproariousness among university boys and girls wherever they may be. All the same, though I have given you an explanation, do not think that it is a justification for indiscipline. As much uproariousness as is necessary for growth is good, but uproariousness which passes the limit and prevents you from growing properly is an enemy, not a friend. Explanation is very different from justification. Explanation makes one forgive any error on your part, makes the Chancellor take back rusticated students and not be harsh in mind or thought or action against students who have committed some acts of indiscipline. In youth errors that have been committed should be forgotten as soon as some explanation is given and the elders accept the explanation. In the Hindu prayer as prescribed by the ancients, every morning you say "May the errors committed by me as a result of natural tendencies last night be forgotten with the night". This is laid down by ancient rishis who were serious, thoughtful and wise men. They knew that error was natural, there was no way in life to get away from error except by confession and by praying. Every evening the prayer prescribed is: "I have committed many errors due to my natural tendencies this day and may those errors disappear with the day that has disappeared". Now I hope the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Senators and all authorities dealing with my young friends will apply the prayer in respect of the students and receive them back as soon as they realise they have gone wrong (applause). Remember what I last said. As soon as it is realised that they have done wrong, they are as clean as anybody else because they are young people. Nothing sticks to young people. What was wrong, if once realised and wiped out, is totally wiped out and you are as good a flower as you were before.

I hope you are all happy in this university. As a result of changes the strength of the university has increased, more colleges have been assimilated into the university. This university is likely to play a great part in the future of India. Your central situation, your synthetic quality and

your bold and courageous adoption of an Indian language as the medium of instruction and examination, which policy required the greatest amount of courage, all these mark you out for a special part to play in future India. Do not therefore lose or waste the opportunities that are offered to you here. Every hour that you spend here should be spent joyously but not uselessly. There is no need to be morose in order to be useful. Every moment that you spend in this university, whether at play or in conversation or in study you must utilise fully. Much is spent on you here, a great deal of energy is bestowed on you and it should not be wasted. Young men and women should therefore make full use of the opportunities afforded in this college and prepare to become leaders in the country. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who is gone, who is always before my mind when I am in Hyderabad, was very fond of a particular joke. Young men used to go to her and tell her: "Oh, we know you are a leader: I have seen your face in the calendar. Please give an autograph for me". The definition of a leader should not be entirely entrusted to photographers. It is not only those whose pictures appear in journals or weeklies or whose pictures are seized by calendar-makers for improving their sales. These are not the only leaders. A leader is one who guides those who are not educated or experienced in any department of life (hear, hear). We want thousands of leaders in India. I am not referring to those most eminent men of action who have obtained rightfully a place in the organisation that governs the country. I am referring to every bright, intelligent, trained, civilized, young man or woman who is in some occupation or other throughout the country, in the village, in the town, in the district office, in the workshop, in a school or anywhere else and people are around him to receive the benefit of his influence. You want thousands of such men. Whether you settle down in an elementary school to teach, or look after the farm which your father has left you, or in any other occupation, you can be a leader. Not merely political leadership, but craft leadership, educational leadership, social leadership, all kinds of leadership are waiting for university students to take up wherever they may go. And in all these posts of responsibility you are expected to give a lead to those who have not had the advantage of your education. You may earn something to maintain yourself and your family with, that is incidental to all social work. There is no distinction between one who is paid and one who is not paid. The arrogance of an unpaid worker is often worse than the arrogance of a paid servant. If you have money of your own, you can afford to be unpaid, but that money has been given

to you by somebody else. If you draw something for your work, you do not lose your right to respect provided you are a wise and good man. The labourer is worthy of his hire and so wages or salaries do not lower the status of anybody who does honest work, who is a good man and who leads as I would wish our leaders should lead all our people. All of you therefore are preparing to become leaders. What is the thing most essential then? You can answer me without my telling you—character, that is to say automatic behaviour. Character does not consist in something which the eulogist says when a picture is unveiled or when some grateful people refer to the virtues of a dead person. Character consists in the automatic behaviour, what your reaction is to what happens around you. If you see something wrong, your automatic shiver and repulsion should be there. Then you are a good man or woman. Character has to be automatic and expressing itself without your knowing it, not something to be thought out and pretended. How then does it come? By the blessing of God, by the blessings of your grandfathers and grandmothers because you inherit a great deal from them. But over and above what is given by God at birth or what you inherit from your ancestors, you can become a good or bad man according as you behave and learn to behave when you are young. In the universities therefore there is definite scope for you to develop good character. Do not lose this most essential thing. And how is that got? By care and vigilance, by the absorption of the good examples set by others. If you have character, whether you do well in your studies or not, you can still be a leader as I want you to be. But it is not right to waste opportunities for learning. Your studies must be properly attended to. India requires well equipped men and women all over, and the basic instruction which you get and the technical instruction which you get in the universities in the various departments are all preparations so that you may serve your people around you. It is not easy to give university education to everybody. You can give a vote to everybody. Adult suffrage is easy but adult wisdom is something more difficult. Wisdom is difficult to distribute to all adults. So we will have to act indirectly. Those who can be brought together within the walls of the university should acquire not only character but the equipment that is possible in the universities to get. They should take them not for themselves to appear very wise and great and to frighten the uneducated people with but to make it flow in the country. It should flow to others in your daily life, by your help and advice, and the like. All the equipment that you take, you should consider to be a trust which you

should give to others. Nothing is useful if you learn it only for yourself and you are unable to express it and give it to others. You must acquire all knowledge so that you may teach it and give it to others. All the 7,000 odd students in this university should learn things so that you may impart them to others. You know that some fruits have seeds and some modern varieties of fruits have no seeds. The fruit that has seed has the capacity to make a plant grow in its place when it dies. Seedless knowledge is only self-satisfaction. I hope every boy and girl who learns in this university or anywhere else will learn it so that it may be imparted to others.

I shall not deal with the most complicated matter which the Vice-Chancellor has dealt with in his Welcome Address, namely, the question of the medium of instruction. When I spoke here five or six years ago, I spoke mostly about that subject, but today the matter has gone beyond dispute and discussion. Everyone accepts the principle of teaching the young through the mother tongue. There are many eminent doctors of education who shout vociferously for an Indian medium but have a mental reservation in their hearts and hope that nobody would compel them to act according to their stated view (laughter). There is a very large amount of mental reservation in our country, and in the matter of medium of instruction also there is. But there is no doubt as an elementary principle of education that it is better to teach through a medium which is automatically understood than to teach through a medium which presents a double process to be gone through. At the same time we cannot get rid of the fact that we have for over a hundred years laboriously and most successfully adopted the English language for all higher instruction and made accomplishment in the use of the language a matter of great importance even more than the assimilation of knowledge. These hundred years of laborious work in this field of acquiring facility in the use of the English language cannot simply be wiped out on the 15th August 1947 as a result of the transfer of power. History cannot be wiped out. The foreign rule through which we passed imposed its own policies on us and as a result most of our educated men throughout India—thousands and thousands of educated men—are very good in the English language. It hurts our self-respect, but there is some good in it also. You are now quite ready and competent to address any international audience in the world. You can seize the mind and the attention of any gathering in America, England or any foreign country, dealing with world affairs, because English has become the

most important international language in the world. So we need not lose our facility in it. There is no single difficulty in the world which you cannot convert into an advantage and a benefit. There is no misfortune from which you cannot get an advantage also. There is no hurdle that you cross which does not make you all the better for it and which does not confer on you a distinct advantage. We have gone through some difficulties on account of foreign rule. All those things we can wisely conserve and instead of grieving over them we can convert them all into an advantage. English should not be lost but should be conserved. Having gone through 150 years' foreign rule, why should we not conserve advantages gained by it? Look at the fine service-organization that the British Government have left behind. Look at the institutions they have left behind, their cantonments, their discipline, their army-organization, their civil service-organization, everything is an abundant asset which we should make use of. See the remnants of the war preparations. All those hutments are now used for very proper and useful purposes. Everything left behind can be used. There is nothing in nature which can be called useless. What the British have left behind is therefore not a matter for grief or regret or shame, but we must, like wise people, use it all. Do not therefore think that you achieve anything by destroying what has been left behind. We should conserve what is good or useful and not destroy.

There are many things to be done, and many points to be considered, and you should leave that entirely to the academic leaders that are there who will deal with them carefully. Meanwhile you should learn as quickly and as well as possible so that you may impart what you learn to others. Here I wind up with something that touched me greatly yesterday. I asked His Exalted Highness to give me his Book of Verses and he was very pleased to give it to me, but I suggested he may write something new for me and he has done it. This is the translation of the Persian couplet which he wrote for me:

“All creeds reveal lasting good in life

To end the ills with which the world is rife.

It is the creed of Osman by God's grace

That those who serve mankind abstain from strife.”

The original must be much more beautiful.

May this thought given by His Exalted Highness guide you in your life in the university.

AGGARWAL VIDYALA HIGH SCHOOL.

On the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Aggarwal Vidyala High School building at Hyderabad on December 22, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said.—

My best wishes to this new school. You have asked me to lay the foundation-stone. You know all about me and you must have taken all that into account before asking me to lay the foundation-stone. If there is any difference of views between us, it is you that should be converted, not I. That is why I agreed to lay the foundation-stone. Remember that my name will be there and you cannot do anything else. Do not give rise to quarrels between Hindi and Urdu. Urdu gives milk. Hindi gives milk. Cows give milk. buffaloes give milk. All milk is good. Buffalo's milk contains more fat. Cow's milk contains more sugar. One is good for taste: the other is good for the body. Hindi and Urdu do not differ so much as cow's milk differs from buffalo's milk. Do not take this foundation-stone to be a declaration of war. It should be a symbol of peace and harmony (hear, hear).

Thank you very much. I have spoken little but spoken much.

AT THE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Unveiling a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi in the Library of the Osmania University on December 22, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said.—

MR CHANCELLOR,—

It gives me, I need hardly tell you, great pleasure to perform this function. This is the best place for keeping a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, which should serve as an inspiration. Do not think that Mahatmaji was so much against modern civilization as not to read books. He could always quote much more than I could possibly attempt doing. When students sit to read here, they should remember that Mahatmaji read things with an eye to the real substance of the thing, and not to the form or the words. May that serve as an inspiration to everyone who sits here to read books written by wise people. I have great pleasure in unveiling the picture.

CIVIC ADDRESS AT AURANGABAD.

Replying to the Address of Welcome presented at Aurangabad on December 23, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

I thank you for the address of welcome presented to me and I am overwhelmed by all the kindness that has been shown by the various bodies that have garlanded me, kindness which I could not hope to make any satisfactory return for. The great crowds that I saw on my way to this place gave me an idea of the size of Aurangabad and its population.

Let me say to begin with that between your garlands and your addresses I would prefer the garlands because I could remove the garlands from off my neck whereas the flattering terms of the address worry me somewhat too much. We have changed over from British rule to self-rule, from bureaucracy to democracy, and I hope we will soon change over from flattery to precise expression (cheers).

There is a great difference between good manners and courtesy on the one hand and the style of language which poets and courtiers used in the old days. It is quite easy and quite possible to be very courteous and kind to me without saying things which make me feel embarrassed because you might imagine that I believe all that you say and I would get great credit if I believed all you said. Whether my name has 27 letters when written in English or only 16 letters when written in Marathi, it was given by my mother and has no reference to my character. Stars, which you say have much influence, brought us I suppose the English language and expanded the number of letters to 27 to suit the stars. As a matter of fact I do not believe in astrology. If any of you believe in astrology I would warn you against it. Even if there is something in astrology, it is a very unwise thing to look to the future through the help of the stars. In the performance of our duty we should be longsighted and wise as far as one can be, but do not seek the help of the stars for that will often lead you to trouble, worry, anxiety and improper action.

You have received me almost as if I came in my personal capacity, but really I have come as representing the great new free State into which you have now been added. If you go out of your house when a God is taken out in a procession, you go out not to offer respect to the priests but think of the God that is taken round. In the same manner I want you to look upon me only as a symbol and as a representative of the great, free, independent nation into which you have now become an added member. My wisdom or

my good fortune or my private and personal achievements are of no consequence. Just as His Exalted Highness the Nizam is only a constitutional Head and has nothing to do with the affairs of the State, which he has entrusted to the Ministers, I have nothing to do with the affairs of the State except as a symbol and you must look to the Government of India as a whole. By God's grace and good fortune, we have a government to carry on the affairs of new Free India in a complicated period of world's history, consisting of men whom it would be wise for you to trust and whom statesmen all over the world respect for their character and achievements. Do not attribute the difficulties of the times to failure on the part of the Government. If the leaders could only get things done as they desired to do, they would have done much more and far greater happiness would have resulted. But unfortunately the circumstances are not quite easy as they might have been if we had been more lucky. These are men who have demonstrated by their whole life that they deserve the confidence of this great nation. It is possible to cut up the people into small groups for one reason or another and seize popular favour in small groups, but it is very difficult for a whole big nation such as ours to get leaders of such type who are worthy, who have demonstrated their capacity and their character and who actually command the confidence of the whole population. It is possible to pick up a grievance here or a grievance there and use it and exploit it for the purpose of pushing forward one's own popularity. But it would be a most dangerous thing if the government of this vast country were to be entrusted to untrained people. We have been lucky, as I said, in getting at this critical time men who have been tried as gold is burnt in fire and tried. It was therefore a matter of ease and joy to me to be called Governor-General when such people were carrying on their work. And when I go out now from one place to another and see the welcome that I receive, I take it not as a personal compliment but as a compliment to and an expression of confidence in the whole of the Government. I wish all good luck to our dear country under these leaders or whosoever may come to take their place in due time.

You have the good fortune of having the sacred spot of the Ajanta caves in your place. I have just returned from there and I find it difficult yet to clear my mind down to worldly affairs. From all parts of the world eminent, wise and good men will come to see these caves and you will have to be their hosts and friends during their stay here. When I saw the art and the glory of that place, this dear country

of ours and its good people have become definitely more intensely dear to me. What more glory can any people demand than that of belonging to a people among whom was born Buddha who lived and worked with them, or a people who could produce such artists as have carved and painted the Ajanta caves? May the spirit of Buddha inspire everyone whom temptations of greed and passion attack.

Aurangabad will soon become a kind of centre of culture in India because after India's independence the glory of Ajanta will spread even more than it has hitherto spread. Citizens and merchants and other local bodies who have presented me their welcome and their garlands, I want you to realise that when good and great men visit these caves and come back, let them not see too great a contrast between that and this place. The glorious artists who carved and painted the caves did it for faith and devotion, not for money. I have no doubt that even then there were many greedy men in the towns and cities who made wealth and accumulated power, but they have all gone. It is only those paintings and those carvings that remain.

I have talked a great deal in Hyderabad in various contexts and I want you to take the reports of them all as having been said to you also. I am going to Ellora tomorrow after which I return to New Delhi. Before I conclude I would like to say that you should wash your mind of the many things that have happened before. You should look to the future. Only with mutual love and affection will happiness grow. otherwise only poisonous seeds will grow and no happiness will result therefrom.

AT LAJPAT NAGAR.

After declaring open the Lajpat Nagar and laying the foundation-stone of Kasturba Niketan on December 25, 1949, His Excellency the Governor-General said :—

It is a great privilege that you have given me to perform, something which will commemorate the memory of our departed leader and nation-builder, Sri Lajpat Rai. That I should have some function in doing honour to the memory of one who worked so long and so strenuously for the freedom of our country and yet did not live to see the fruition of his labours fills me with satisfaction. We are building houses and are trying to rehabilitate people who have been displaced and are full of anxiety and grief. Our

efforts are not commensurate with the suffering which we wish to relieve. I must congratulate my honourable colleague and his officers for all that they are trying to do in the face of difficulties of all kinds. In the old days there were different bodies to deal with different matters. Today the administration is conducted, social service done, military affairs managed, capital furnished and building operations supervised, all by Government. Those whom you call Government have to do everything now and people expect them to do all these things quickly and well also. Anyone who looks round in a detached manner will realise what a terrible burden it is for a few people to bear. Even the little we are doing could not have been accomplished but for the great tenacity of purpose, honesty and integrity of our leaders. I shall not say more about this, but when errors, difficulties and delays present themselves to you for observation and criticism I want you to pay a thought to the other side of the matter and to see how much weight and responsibility are borne by a few people. So far as I am concerned I have no hesitation to congratulate the leaders and the Rehabilitation Ministry on the manner in which they are tackling problems of which they had never dreamt a few years ago or were prepared for.

I am glad that a worthy name has been selected for this new town. Some time ago I performed a similar function near Bombay and the Bombay Government gave a descriptive hopeful name to that new town. But the people who had to live there divided themselves into two groups, some supporting the name proposed and others claiming that it should be called Sindhu Nagar. I do not desire to perform another function to lay the foundation-stone for a controversy (laughter). I wish to lay a foundation-stone for a happy, nice, peaceful town, and not for a name-controversy.

As for Kasturba Niketan, it will be in charge of three *sumangalies*, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs. Hannah Sen and Mrs. Matthai. *Sumangalies* are omens of peace, joy and prosperity. And may this home be a place of joy and prosperity for the poor and destitute for whom it has been built. I am much honoured in being asked to lay the foundation-stone for the Niketan and fix a name-slab for the town. I hope that all of you will bless this adventure with your good wishes.

Addressing the labourers and craftsmen who had assembled in large numbers, His Excellency said:—

“It gives me very great pleasure to see you gathered here to bless this function. You have built many houses

for ordinary people. Today you have built for Sri Lajpat Rai. It is something which you should remember. It is not enough we build houses. What is wanted is an occupation for all the people and a living by which they can look after their families. All of us who are in distress want to hang on to Delhi and somehow make our living. Unless somebody digs and ploughs and raises some food, we cannot live. I hope as a result of raising this new town the peasants in the neighbouring area will raise more food and earn more."

THE CENTRAL BOARD OF IRRIGATION.

His Excellency the Governor-General made the following speech in New Delhi on December 26, 1949, at the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation and the First Annual Meeting of the Central Board of Geophysics :—

I have great pleasure in opening the 20th Annual Meeting of the Irrigation Central Board and the First Annual Meeting of the Board of Geophysics. The Board of Geophysics was conceived in 1945 and set up in April 1949. The work of this Board, as explained by Mr. Khosla, is intimately linked up with the schemes of engineers. The irrigation Board is a central research and advisory body for irrigation in India and the national committee and liaison body for several international commissions and societies. This Board was constituted in 1927 and holds all the top engineers of India, Burma and Ceylon. The function of the Board is the collection and dissemination of information both Indian and foreign, and the fostering and checking of results of research in irrigation and allied subjects.

Its research committee meets every year to examine the reports of nine research stations in India and Ceylon. It organises an annual inspection tour of irrigation and Hydro-electric works and projects in which engineers from all parts of the country participate.

It issues a quarterly journal besides an annual technical report of research. Besides this it issues leaflets for lay people. Its library is one of the finest technical libraries. The establishment is very modest consisting of a Secretary, a Deputy Secretary and five Assistant Secretaries, a Superintendent, a Librarian and a Technical Assistant.

India's irrigation is an ancient inheritance and during the last hundred years, state-controlled works have been built on an extensive scale. The area under irrigation in India exceeds 78,000 square miles. It is the largest irrigated area in any country of the world, more than twice that in U.S.A. The total capacity of India's canals is over 60,000 miles. Yet only 6 to 7 per cent. of available water is under use. There are 12 mammoth schemes under contemplation, schemes of irrigation and production of electric power. The completion of any one of the major projects will wipe out the country's entire deficit of food and provide power to start many heavy industries of importance.

A glimpse into the record of the work done by this Board shows a picture of organised research quite comparable with that of any other such body abroad.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this meeting, the twentieth of the Board's annual gatherings and I wish continued success to the eminent engineers in their patriotic work. The President, besides dealing with general matters, has given a definite lead suggesting reservoirs to store up flood waters in rivers which have already been dammed with canals attached, waters which would otherwise go to waste and which could be used without any great addition to the existing canal systems. I hope engineers will give attention to this eminently practicable and important suggestion. Engineers assembled, the future of India rests on your imagination and your commonsense. All other progress rests on what you achieve with the aid of existing actual man-power and material resources and our available credit. These accessories increase in volume with execution and progress will therefore proceed with accelerated pace. No one need be down-hearted. The mountain path is steep but we shall go up.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

HIS EXCELLENCY the Governor-General made the following speech at the International Congress of World Fellowship of Faiths at New Delhi on January 7, 1950.—

MR. PRESIDENT,—

It is a great privilege that you are giving me to speak without notice to such a distinguished audience. At the same time you will realise that there are some risks in speaking without thought before an assembly of thoughtful people! I have been following the activities of our sister who has organised this Congress in Delhi this year with great admiration and sympathy. I have tried to encourage her and it is only lest she might imagine that I am half-hearted in the matter, I came here this evening to say a few words. I came today without notice to the organizers and I thank you, Sir, for the affection and consideration you have shown me. I can add nothing to what I have been saying all these years on the matter with which this Congress is concerned. As we are using a foreign medium in dealing with the subject, we are likely to commit many mistakes. Words are dangerous things, the greatest danger being that they make us imagine that we understand things when really we do not understand them. Words act like a musical rhythm and we somehow fall in line, even without fully understanding what is meant. Some day I hope we shall be able to deal with such subjects through mediums which go straight to the heart of our people and do not merely make a musical effect on the mind through the ears. It is only then that we could benefit by conferences on such subjects. If you try to translate tolerance into any one of our own languages in India you will find it hard exactly to hit it off. We do not exactly have a word for what is implied by religious tolerance. But because we have not a word for tolerance exactly conveying the sense, it does not mean we are intolerant. On the contrary it may mean that since our whole attitude to religion is based on tolerance, we have no special word for it. It is only when a man has not a thing that he has to refer to it constantly trying to acquire it. As far as I am aware, there is no reference in our religious literature to the attitude of mind which is denoted by the word 'tolerance', and as I have just said, I attribute it to the fact that we have based our religion always and entirely upon the spirit to which we refer when we use the word tolerance. As was very ably explained by Swami Ranganathan, tolerance of a negative character is different from what is implied when we use it

in the present context of the Congress of Fellowship of Faiths. We tolerate and we do not quarrel with one another, we let people do what they like within the limits of their liberties—that is tolerance which is implied in any secular scheme of good citizenship. If you are not tolerant in a good secular State, you will be sent to prison,—but when you refer to tolerance in a fellowship of faiths you mean something active, as was pointed out by Swamji. There is all the difference in the world between a conviction of mind which backs your faith in a particular approach to the mystery of the universe when that conviction is supplemented by arrogance and when it is mitigated by humility. A conviction that is supplemented by humility of approach creates tolerance. A conviction that is strengthened by arrogance creates intolerance. The same conviction may lead to tolerance or intolerance. I have seen very good people in the course of my life—very religious and pious people—whose whole external manner and behaviour are consistent only with piety and devotion, but who are unfortunately convinced in a way which makes for arrogance, and that leads to mental intolerance which finds an outlet in many things that they do. I have seen also the other type of conviction, where the conviction is no less strong but where the approach is accompanied by a full realisation of the limitations of one's own mind and one's own knowledge, and that produces humility, kindness and good understanding.

In our country, whatever the causes may be, our ancient religion went into so many denominations in course of time and was handled by such a variety of good and powerful minds that they soon discovered the need for humility. In other countries religions came out with the missionary purpose of convincing other peoples of a new faith and the eternal conflict between that conviction and the people around them produced a militant attitude. In our country the very variety of denominational differences produced an atmosphere which developed tolerance. While in other scriptures you find an insistence on the certainty of certain dogmas or opinions, in our scriptures you find in the earliest records emphasis laid on the doctrine that all paths lead to God and truth. There is nothing in any other scriptures corresponding to what we find in the Bhagawad-Gita in the relevant slokas. I do not mean by this that other scriptures do not insist on tolerance. Every religion insists on tolerance, but it is negative secular tolerance. In our religion, in our Bhagawad-Gita, there is particular emphasis laid on this truth, namely that all paths

There are people who would say, "Why waste money on costly adventures in science or on fine arts or on tombs and temples and churches and festivals, when we have so much to do and so little money to spare?" Lord Curzon, one of my much disliked predecessors, speaking on the Ancient Monuments Bill said:

"Since I came to India we have spent upon repairs at Agra alone a sum of between £40,000 and £50,000. Every rupee has been an offering of reverence to the past and a gift of recovered beauty to the future; and I do not believe that there is a tax-payer in this country who will grudge one anna of the outlay."

This is a very fine utterance which we should ponder over. There are many things which indirectly help progress and are no less important than works of direct utility. Money spent on fairs and festivities, we should know, is money invested for law and order. Money spent on fundamental research is not money wasted on empty prestige but is a good and necessary investment which progressive nations do well not to grudge. When we reach a critical point in anything it is only science that can help. Take for instance the problem of food in India. It would be wonderful if research could help us to develop a strain of rice that has shed its wasteful inherited habit of wallowing neck-deep in water. Some plant-expert will one day produce a variety which will yield paddy of good quality but emancipated from this wasteful habit of wanting more water than it requires. We may then be enabled to raise an abundant crop of rice of good quality without gigantic irrigation works. Where there is plenty of rain let the old rice plant carry on wallowing like the buffalo in water, but where there is not much rain, we may have another kind of rice plant which will yield all we want but not demand water beyond what it requires to build its tissues. In Canada the wheat-breeding experts worked persistently until they got by chance at a seed which coped with the frost better than the normal varieties and the width of cultivation was at once extended northwards by a few miles. Extension by a few miles northwards gave

a vast breadth of wheat fields stretching across the whole continent.

This and other such things cannot be done unless we encourage research giving it uttermost freedom. Even the Coimbatore sugarcane variety came, I believe, by a kind of an accident. Science will not be a slave in chains. True to feminine type, the Goddess of Science rejects the direct mercenary approach and prefers to be gracious by her own choice and only when you approach her for her own sake. If we limit the efforts and operations of scientific men strictly within utilitarian plans and schemes, we may make small and useful routine achievements, but the biggest discoveries never come that way. They come, so to say, by accident and indirectly, and then the discovery produces an enormous gift for human progress and happiness. I do not believe that in 1895 when X-rays came to be discovered—I was then a lad at college and I remember my professor showing me the back of his hands made hairless by working with the new rays—I do not believe anybody could have then imagined all the wonderful purposes associated with medical help in which these rays have been progressively found to assist. It would be un wisdom to limit scientific research. It is a good investment to give as much money as we can to eminent men devoted to the cause of searching for truth. Men engaged in great scientific research belong to the same class as our old Rishis.

Of course I am not unaware that sometimes these discoveries of fundamental scientists can be seized by Satan for inflicting more miseries on man than he is now subjected to, and in this respect the atom has been a great offender. At one end, poor Einstein is working on the Expanding Universe and giving us equations which are hieroglyphics to me but must be wonderful joy to mathematicians. Einstein's expanding universe can do us no great immediate damage. There is no harm in these equations. At the other end, however, those eminent scientists who worship at the altar of the Infinitesimal, have brought the world precipitously near to destruction. The offender however is not really the Atom. It is the business of statesmen to agree to prevent the misuse of Truth.

Research is most often a game of finding the needle in the haystack. Scientists may seem to be idling their time and wasting plenty of money. But the needle can be found by someone only if many are engaged in seemingly profitless work. Of course we should not have wholehearted idlers. It is permitted for scientists to seem to be idle. There are real idlers too who should be ostracised. The search for truth must go on and India should put in her share of work in Science and take her share of fame in return. If the scientists of India make up their minds, they can raise India's prestige to a degree which will more than make up for any failure or defects in other fields. There is no medium for international prestige as effective as scientific research. Our laboratories are our best embassies.

There are then people who look on science as an enemy to Religion. Nothing can be farther from truth or more unjustified. Science, that is Truth, is an enemy to superstition but not to religion. The ancient Rishis of India did not think so. They said in immortal words:

Satyameva jayate naanrtam.

Satyena panthaa vitato devayaanah,

- Yenaakramanti rishayohyaaptakaamaa,

- Yatra tatsatyasya paramam nidhaanam.

Truth wins ever, and not untruth. With truth is paved the Divine road on which walk the Rishis with desire quenched to reach the supreme Abode. This emphatic dependence on Truth is the dominating characteristic of the teaching of Indian Seers. A superficial knowledge of the laws of Nature and the wonders of science, especially when that knowledge is acquired second-hand without the chastening influence of effort and investigation, may act as a wine on some natures. But those who struggle to obtain a deeper knowledge of the physical sciences automatically develop towards the mystery of the universe, an attitude of reverence which is the essence of Religion.

"Flower in the crannied wall" sang Tennyson. "I pluck you out of the crannies. I hold you here root and all in my hand, little flower. But if I could understand

what you are, root and all, and all in all, I should know what God and man is "

Men of science, on account of their very knowledge of some of the secrets of Nature, contemplate with increased humility and reverence that which must ever remain outside the pale of human analysis.

May the love of Truth for its own sake and the spirit of investigation in all its vigour and the good wishes of all those assembled here on this occasion inspire those who will work in this laboratory.

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